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NEW CHARTER OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION REVIEWED

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 20 Jan 81 p 6

[Article by Ayman Habib: "The Summit Meeting Reviews the New Charter of the Islamic Conference Organization"]

[Text] The New Changes Include Doing Away With the Idea of Changing the Name of the Islamic Conference Organization.

The Changes Aim at Increasing the Organization's Potential for Rendering the Best Possible Services.

The Position of Assistant Secretary-General for Palestinian Affairs Has Been Created.

The New Charter Stipulates That the Leaders of the Muslim World Meet Every 2 Years.

The Secretary-General's Term of Office Continues To Be 3 Years, and It Can Be Renewed.

The Islamic Conference Organization, with all of its energy and its efforts, is striving to render the best possible services that it can to the Muslim world and to all of humanity. Since it is an international organization of great importance, and with a lofty mission, it is striving vigorously to embrace all of the causes, problems, concerns, hopes and aspirations of the Muslim world, and it is attempting to organize and program them in order to begin implementing its plans in coordination with the Islamic member states.

As a matter of fact, the Islamic Conference Organization has been rendering important services ever since the day it was established. It is still vigorously striving to render more and more services to the Muslim world. However, the causes, problems, ambitions and aspirations of the Muslim world today are much more numerous than they were in the past. This fact demands that the Islamic Conference Organization demonstrate a greater ability to grasp and embrace the new situation. It demands that modifications be introduced in the Islamic Conference Organization's charter. And in fact, the Secretariat General of the Islamic Conference Organization, the head of which is Mr al-Habib al-Shati, the secretary general, has begun to set down the broad outlines for the new charter in accordance with the requirements of the Muslim world. The new charter includes the following features:

30 Charter Member Countries

A review was made of the entire charter, not merely some of its sections.

Let us begin with a discussion of the charter's preamble. It was agreed upon to change the wording of this part of the charter so that it would correspond to the current status of the organization as to the number of its members. The present preamble of the charter refers only to the organization's 30 charter member countries.

But today the organization has more than 40 members.

It was also agreed that it was necessary that the preamble include a reference to a resolution passed by the 11th conference of the Islamic nations' foreign ministers. This was the resolution that recommended the introduction of modifications to the current charter and recommended that the Secretariat General be the organization that works out the textual wording of these modifications. The Secretariat General then proceeded to do this by preparing the revised draft of the charter.

Changing the Name of the Organization

The next matter to be taken up was Article 1, which deals with the organization's name. There had been a suggestion to change the name of the organization in view of the fact that the word "conference," which is included in the name, suggests that the organization is of an ad hoc or temporary nature. A number of other names were submitted to the committee, including: the Organization of Islamic States, the Organization of Islamic Nations, the Islamic Nation Organization, and the Islamic Organization. But these names cause legal and other difficulties. For example, the first name [the Organization of Islamic States] might cause the organization to be deprived of the ability to be concerned about Muslim communities [in chiefly non-Muslim countries] because the name of the organization would force the organization to deal officially only with Islamic states. Or, for example, in the case of the second name [the Organization of Islamic Nations], the name is not in keeping with the spirit of Islamic solidarity that the organization calls on the Muslims of the world to support and consolidate--the name suggests that the Muslim world is fragmented into different nations or communities and that there is dissension in the Muslim world. The fact is that the Koran says: "This is your nation, and it is one nation." In the case of the third name [the Islamic Nation Organization], there is a lack of precision and definition because the concept of "nation" ["ummah" in Arabic] has not been adequately and precisely defined. In the case of the last name [the Islamic Organization], the designation is too general and misleading.

It was decided to keep the present name as is, that is, the Islamic Conference Organization. But it was also decided to change the legal wording of Article 1. The word "Islamic" had been missing from the section of the charter that defines the organization and its objectives. The phrase read as follows: "for the service of the peoples and humanity within the scope of Islamic law." Now the wording of the article is as follows:

"The Islamic Conference Organization, established in accordance with the charter of the Islamic Conference, which was ratified by the member states in Jiddah during the period 14-19 Muharram 1392 A.H., corresponding to 29 February-2 March 1972 A.D., is an international organization possessing multiple objectives for the service of the Islamic peoples and humanity within the scope of Islamic law."

A New Paragraph

The next matter to be taken up was Article 2, which deals with objectives and principles.

One of the basic objectives that the organization has set for itself and which is expressed in the final report of the first Islamic Summit Conference, which was held in Rabat, is the strengthening of Islamic solidarity and the preservation of the heritage of the Muslim world. Islamic law is very important in the life of the Muslim world, which is extensively affected and influenced by Islamic civilization and culture. Also, the Arabic language is very important because it is the language of the glorious Koran, which is considered to be the greatest heritage of the Muslim world and the most important foundation on the basis of which the Muslim world can maintain its solidarity. In view of all this, it was decided to introduce a new paragraph in Article 2 that concerns the following.

1. Urging the member states to derive their laws and statutes from Islamic law and to strive to propagate Islamic civilization and culture.
2. Propagating the Arabic language, as the language of the Koran, and considering this to be one of the organization's objectives.

Two Versions Presented

It was also agreed in principle to add another paragraph to the list of objectives that would concern working toward the realization of a new international economic order, within the scope of the teachings of Islamic law, which would serve the interests of the Muslim world. It was decided to present two versions of this paragraph to the conference, which would then have to choose one of them. These two versions are:

"1. Working toward the realization of a new international economic order."

"2. Working toward the realization of a new international economic order that would be in conformity with the objectives of Islamic law and with the economic interests of the Muslim nations."

It was also decided to add a new paragraph to the objectives of the charter, the text of which is: "Working toward reconciliation of the positions of the member states in matters that concern the interests of the Muslim nations and peoples [of the world]."

Coordination of the Organization With Its Counterparts

Furthermore, it was decided to introduce another new paragraph among the objectives of the charter that would deal with coordinating the work of the

organization with other international organizations, especially strengthening ties with other international Islamic bodies and organizations.

Concerning the matter of racial discrimination in all its forms, emphasis was given to the importance of the work that is being undertaken by the organization to liberate all peoples and to eliminate racism.

This is in conjunction with efforts to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination, in addition to cooperating with all peoples of the world and international organizations to destroy imperialism in all its forms.

The New Charter Has 13 Objectives

According to the revised draft charter, with these additions the organization will have 13 objectives instead of only 7, as in the old charter.

It is also expected that there will be a change in the wording in the part that contains the sentence: "Promoting international peace and security based on truth and justice." The phrase "taking the necessary steps" was taken out.

One addition that was made was the phrase "rejection of solutions that do not restore to the Palestinian people their permanent and legitimate rights."

The charter modifications will also include taking out the phrase "creating a climate" and replacing it with the word "striving," so that the new text becomes: "Striving to strengthen cooperation among the member states and other states."

Four Assistant Secretaries

It was decided to keep as is the text of Article 3 and its various paragraphs as they appeared in the old charter.

Likewise, it was agreed to combine the two items that constitute part of Paragraph 1 of Article 5 with a small modification in the wording; the result being as follows:

"The Islamic Conference Organization shall meet on the level of the foreign ministers, or their authorized representatives, regularly once a year in any one of the member states. Furthermore, the conference shall hold extra meetings on the basis of a request from any one of the member states or from the secretary general after the request has been communicated to the member states and after two-thirds of them have given their approval."

Concerning Paragraph 2 of Article 5, it was decided to keep Item A of Paragraph 2 and to add to it the phrase "to make the necessary decisions in light of this" at the end of Item B of Paragraph 2 in this article.

Items C, D, E, F, and G of Paragraph 2 were kept in the charter, and E.2 and E.3 were combined into a single item with a modification in wording so that the text of Item E.2 and E.3 were combined into a single item with a modification in wording so that the text of Item E.2 now reads:

"After nominations have been submitted by the secretary general, the conference shall appoint four assistant secretaries general who shall possess capability and integrity as well as a belief in the objectives of the charter and just geographical distribution."

The experts felt that there was no use in determining the areas of competence of the new fourth assistant secretary general and restricting these areas of competence to the Palestine question, because the secretary general is the only one who has the authority to distribute and assign the tasks of the assistant secretaries general.

Modifications As Needed

Concerning Paragraph 3 of Article 5 in the old charter, the committee members feel that the words "of those present" should be added to the last part of this paragraph so that the new version becomes: "Decisions or recommendations at the foreign ministers conference shall be made on the basis of a two-thirds majority of those present." It was decided to keep the text of Paragraph 4 as is. But the experts felt that Paragraph 5 of Article 5 should be divided into two items--A and B. The text of the first item would be as follows:

"There shall be continued implementation of the principles of the procedures, rules, regulations and basic statutes concerning the organization's officials that have been decided by foreign ministers conferences that have preceded the ratification of this charter."

The text of the second item is: "The foreign ministers conference shall decide on any modifications concerning what was referred to in Section A or any new modifications as needed."

Lengthening of the Secretary General's Term of Office

Another subject addressed was the term of office of the secretary general and the prolonging of this term of office so that he would be able to do his job as well as possible and so that the organization would benefit from his experience after he learns the intricacies of the organization and how it works. This is something that requires a minimum of from 1 to 2 years, which is the term of office of the secretary general as established by Article 6 of the old charter. Two suggestions were presented to the committee. The first said that the term of office of the secretary general should be 3 years, when he is first appointed, and that it should not exceed 2 years if he is selected to serve a second time.

The second suggestion said that this term of office should be 3 years and should be renewable for a period of 3 more years.

The second suggestion was the one that was approved, and thus the text of Paragraph 1 of Article 6 is now:

"The Secretariat General shall be headed by a secretary general who is appointed by the conference for a period of 3 years, beginning with the date of his appointment, and it shall be permitted to reappoint him for an additional 3 years."

It was also decided to add another paragraph that would come after Paragraph 1 in Article 6, and its text is as follows: "The secretary general shall appoint advisors from among people who have had previous experience in the organization and from among prominent experts who are able to render significant services to the organization."

Another matter taken up was that of the wording that occurs in the charter concerning the precise determination of how much each member state pays of the organization's expenses. It turned out that the wording concerning this matter was not as clear as it should be, and it was decided to take it out and introduce another approach that has new criteria for determining how much each member state pays. The foreign ministers conference was entrusted with the task of determining these criteria.

Modification of the Text Dealing With Expenses

There was also a suggestion for a new version, the thrust of which is that all of the expenses incurred by the Secretariat General in its operations and activities should be borne by the member states according to criteria set by the foreign ministers conference. Concerning Paragraph 2 of this article, it is necessary for the organization's accounts to be audited by a chartered accountant and this should be confirmed in Paragraph 2 of Article 7. All of this would be in addition to the finance committee and other comptroller bodies. The purpose of this would be to guarantee, to an even greater degree, the accuracy of the organization's accounts and to make sure that they conform to the law.

Chartered Accountant

The following was suggested with regard to the chartered accountant: It was decided to drop the phrase "agreed to by the conference," which occurs at the end of Paragraph 2 of Article 7. It was confirmed that there was no agreement concerning the possibility of including the appointment of the chartered accountant, that is, whether this should be put in the charter or in the bylaws.

This matter was referred to the foreign ministers conference so that the appropriate decision could be made there.

It was also agreed upon to modify the first part of Article 8 so that its text would be: "The Islamic Conference Organization shall consist of its charter member states and other states that have joined it."

"Every Muslim country shall have the right to join the Islamic Conference Organization by submitting a request that expresses its desire to do so and its readiness to adhere to the provisions of this charter. The request shall be sent to the Secretariat General which then shall present it to the foreign ministers conference during the first meeting following submission of the request. A new member state shall be accepted when two-thirds of the members of the conference vote approval."

Addition of a Section on Discontinuation of a Country's Membership

It was also decided to add a section concerning the discontinuation of membership of any member state by means of a resolution passed by the

conference of kings and heads of state and government. The text of this article is as follows: "Any member state shall be allowed to withdraw from the Islamic Conference Organization by giving written notification to the secretary general, and all of the member states shall be informed of this."

"The state that has requested withdrawal shall honor its financial duties up till the end of the fiscal year during which the request for withdrawal is submitted. The member state shall also live up to any other financial obligations it may have concerning the conference."

"The membership of any member state may be discontinued, on the condition that two-thirds of the members of the Islamic Conference Organization vote in favor of this and if this is in the interests of the Muslim world. It shall also be allowed, by means of the same process, to reverse a decision suspending a country's membership if the reasons for discontinuing the country's membership become invalid."

Abolishing the Old Charter

Article 13 of the revised charter is a new article that was approved by the members of the committee. Its text is as follows: "The text of the previous charter of the Islamic Conference Organization, which was ratified in Jiddah during the period 14-18 Muharram 1392 A.H., corresponding to 29 February - 2 March 1972 A.D., shall no longer be valid."

Article 14 was kept in its original form. However, the date of the conference, during which this charter is to be ratified, will be changed in accordance with the following:

"This charter shall be ratified or agreed upon by the member states of the Islamic Conference Organization in accordance with its own particular rules."

"This charter shall be in effect after the Secretariat General receives ratification documents from a simple majority of the member states participating in the third Islamic summit conference, to be held in Mecca."

The following is the draft of the charter of the Islamic Conference Organization, with all of its modifications:

Article 1

The Islamic Conference Organization, established in accordance with the charter of the Islamic conference that was ratified by the member states in Jiddah during the period 14-18 Muharram 1392 A.H., corresponding to 29 February - 2 March 1972 A.D., is an international organization possessing multiple objectives for the service of all Islamic peoples and humanity within the scope of Islamic law.

Article 2

Objectives and Principles

The objectives of the Islamic Conference Organization consist of the following:

1. Strengthening Islamic solidarity among the member states.
2. Urging the member states to derive their laws and statutes from Islamic law and to strive to propagate Islamic civilization and culture.
3. Promoting cooperation among the member states in the economic, social, cultural and scientific fields as well as in other fields, and promoting mutual consultation between the member states in international organizations.
4. Providing encouragement and assistance to all Muslims in the learning of the Arabic language in view of the fact that it is the language of the Koran.
5. Striving to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and segregation.
6. Cooperating with all peoples of the world and international organizations in doing away with all forms of imperialism.
7. Working toward the realization of a new international economic order that would be in conformity with the objectives of Islamic law and with the economic interests of the Muslim nations.
8. Promoting international peace and security based on truth and justice.
9. Coordinating efforts to preserve the integrity of, and to liberate, the Holy Places, to promote the struggle of the Palestinian people, to support them in their efforts to regain their rights and liberate their land, and rejecting solutions that do not restore to the Palestinian people their permanent and legitimate rights.
10. Promoting the struggle of all Muslim peoples to preserve their honor, independence and national rights.
11. Striving to strengthen cooperation and understanding among the member states and other states.
12. Working toward reconciliation of the positions of the member states in matters that concern the interests of all Muslim nations and peoples.
13. Coordinating action undertaken by the Islamic Conference Organization and other international organizations and strengthening the organization's relations with international Islamic organizations to serve the interests of all Muslim nations and peoples within the context of the organization's general objectives and principles.

Article 3

Principles

The member states resolve and commit themselves to seek to achieve the objectives of the charter, which shall be guided by the following principles:

1. Full equality among the member states.
2. Respect for the right of each member state to determine its own destiny and non-interference in the internal affairs of the member states.

3. Respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each member state.

4. Renunciation by the member states, in their relations with each other, of the use of force or threat of the use of force in violation of the territorial integrity or political independence of any member state.

5. The solution of any conflicts that might arise among member states by means of peaceful solutions such as negotiation, mediation, reconciliation or arbitration within the scope of the organization.

Article 4

Bodies of the Islamic Conference Organization

The Islamic Conference Organization shall include:

1. The conference of kings and heads of state and government.
2. The foreign ministers conference.
3. The Secretariat General and institutions under it.

1. The conference of kings and heads of state and government shall be the organization's supreme body. It shall meet every 2 years and shall meet whenever the interests of the Muslims of the world require looking into the higher issues that are of concern to the Muslim world. The activities of the organization shall be coordinated in accordance with this.

Article 5

2. The Foreign Ministers Conference.

1.A. The Islamic Conference Organization shall meet on the level of the foreign ministers, or their authorized representatives, regularly once a year in any one of the member states. Furthermore, the conference shall hold extra meetings on the basis of a request from any one of the member states or from the secretary general after the request has been communicated to the member states and after two-thirds of them have given their approval.

1.B. The foreign ministers conference shall have the right to recommend the holding of a conference of the kings and heads of state or heads of government. It shall be possible to obtain agreement to hold such a conference by means of communicating this desire to all of the member states.

2. The Islamic foreign ministers conference shall be held to accomplish the following tasks:

A. To consider means of implementing the general policy of the conference.

B. To review what has been carried out with regard to decisions made by previous conference sessions and to make the necessary decisions in this light.

C. To make decisions regarding matters of mutual interest in accordance with the objectives and purposes of the conference, as mentioned in this charter.

D. To discuss the report of the finance committee and to ratify the budget of the Secretariat General.

E.1. The conference shall appoint the secretary general.

E.2. After nominations have been submitted by the secretary general, the conference shall appoint four assistant secretaries general who shall possess ability and integrity as well as a belief in the objectives of the charter and reflect just geographical distribution.

F. To fix the date of the session of the next foreign ministers conference and the place where it is to be held.

G. To study any issue that affects one or more of the member states, in the event that this is requested, so that appropriate steps regarding this issue can be taken.

3. Decisions or recommendations at the foreign ministers conference shall be made on the basis of a two-thirds majority of those present.

4. Two-thirds of the total number of member states shall represent a quorum in any session of the foreign ministers conference.

5.A. There shall be continued implementation of the principles of the procedures, rules, regulations, and basic statutes concerning the organization's officials, that have been adopted by foreign ministers conferences preceding the ratification of this charter.

5.B. The foreign ministers conference shall decide on any modifications concerning what was referred to in Section A or any new modifications as needed.

Article 6

1. The Secretariat General shall be headed by a secretary general who is appointed by the conference for a period of 3 years, beginning with the date of his appointment, and it shall be permitted to reappoint him for an additional 3 years.

2. The secretary general shall appoint advisors from among people who have had previous experience in the organization and from among prominent experts who are able to render significant services to the organization.

3. The secretary general shall appoint the officials of the secretariat general from among the citizens of the member states, taking into consideration their ability and integrity and bearing in mind the principle of just geographical distribution. The secretary general shall be permitted to appoint officials from among Muslims who are not from member states if the need arises for this.

4. Neither the secretary general, the assistant secretaries general, nor the officials of the Secretariat General shall be allowed, when engaging in the performance of their duties, to ask for or to receive any instructions from any government or any authority outside the scope of the conference. They must refrain from undertaking any action that would be detrimental to their positions as international officials who are accountable only to the conference. The member states shall commit themselves to respect this requirement as well as the nature of their responsibilities and shall refrain from exerting influence over these officials in any way when they are performing their duties.

5. The Secretariat General shall undertake to insure communication between the member states and to facilitate mutual consultation, exchanges of opinions and the propagation of information of mutual interest and concern among these member states.

6. The headquarters of the Secretariat General shall be in Jiddah until Jerusalem is liberated so that it can become the permanent headquarters.

7. The Secretariat General shall pursue the implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the conference and shall present a report concerning this to the conference. Furthermore, the Secretariat General shall present, directly and through suitable means, working papers and memorandums that are relevant to the conference's recommendations and decisions.

8. The Secretariat General shall prepare the meetings of the conference and shall do so in close cooperation with the host nations concerning administrative and organizational matters.

9. Immunities and Privileges

A. In the member states, the conference shall enjoy the necessary legal status, immunities, and privileges in order to be able to perform its work and achieve its objectives.

B. The delegates of the member states shall enjoy the necessary immunities and privileges in order to be able to carry out those tasks related to the work of the conference.

C. Officials of the organization shall enjoy the necessary immunities and privileges so as to be able to carry out their work.

Article 7

1. All expenses incurred by the Secretariat General in its operations and activities shall be borne by the member states according to criteria set by the foreign ministers conference.

2. The Secretariat General shall administer its finances in accordance with the rules and regulations that are in force.

3. The conference shall form a permanent finance committee composed of authorized representatives of the participating nations, and the committee shall meet in the headquarters of the Secretariat General. This committee

shall help the secretary general prepare and supervise the budget of the Secretariat General in accordance with the regulations agreed to by the foreign ministers conference.

Article 8

Membership:

The Islamic Conference Organization shall consist of its charter member states and other states that have joined it.

Every Muslim country shall have the right to join the Islamic Conference Organization by submitting a request expressing its desire to do so and its readiness to adhere to the provisions of this charter. The request shall be sent to the Secretariat General which then shall present it to the foreign ministers conference during the first meeting following submission of the request. A new member state shall be accepted when two-thirds of the members of the conference vote approval.

Article 9

1. Any member state shall be allowed to withdraw from the Islamic Conference Organization by means of giving written notification to the secretary general, and all of the member states shall be informed of this.

2. The state that has requested withdrawal shall honor its financial duties up till the end of the fiscal year during which the request for withdrawal is submitted. The member state shall also live up to any other financial obligations that it may have concerning the conference.

3. The membership of any member state may be discontinued, on the condition that two-thirds of the members of the Islamic Conference Organization vote in favor of this, if this is in the interests of the Muslim world.

It shall also be allowed, by means of the same process, to reverse a decision to suspend a country's membership if the reasons for discontinuing the country's membership become invalid.

Article 10

Any modification of this charter shall be on the basis of the agreement and ratification of two-thirds of the total number of member states.

Article 11

Any dispute that might arise concerning the change, application or implementation of any article of this charter shall be settled in an amicable manner and in all cases shall be settled by means of mutual consultations, negotiations, reconciliation or arbitration within the scope of the organization.

Article 12

The languages of the conference shall be Arabic, English and French.

Article 13

The text of the previous charter of the Islamic Conference Organization, which was ratified in Jiddah during the period 14-18 Muharram 1392 A.H., corresponding to 29 February - 2 March 1972 A.D., shall no longer be valid.

Article 14

This charter shall be ratified or agreed on by the member states of the Islamic Conference Organization in accordance with its own particular rules.

This charter shall be in effect after the Secretariat General receives ratification documents from a simple majority of those member states participating in the third Islamic summit conference, to be held in Mecca.

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OPPOSITION PAPER: 'FRENZY BECOMES CONSTITUTION'

Paris IRAN LIBRE in French 6, 13, 20 Apr 81 Nos 25, 26 and 27

[6 Apr 81 pp 1, 2]

[Text] This week we begin publication of a series of articles intended to present to the Western reader the principle themes of the aberrant "Constitution" which the Islamic Republic has imposed on the Iranian people.

It should be recalled first of all that 2500 years ago Cyrus the Great was the first to promulgate a law, revolutionary for his times, which was intended to assure a minimum of liberties for the peoples governed by the Persians. It is enough to say that Iran, traditionally a land of tolerance and liberty, is being betrayed today by Khomeyni's heretical spirit.

It is in this perspective and recalling the past that the text of the "Constitution" of the Islamic Republic, in which the ridiculous vies with the odious, should now be read.

The Islamic "Constitution" has its inspiration in Khomeyni's manifesto "Velayat-e-Faghih", written in 1971 during his exile in Iraq. This title may be translated as "The Faghih's Exercise of Power."

What is the Faghih?

Khomeyni's definition is as follows."

"The word Faghih applies to one who has studied all the sciences concerning the Divine Law... He is a theologian in the fullest sense of the word... Above all he is a just man...a theologian...a leader (all at once)... It is his duty to a judge, but no one has the right to judge him... It is incorrect to make a distinction between the Prophet, the Imam (Ali, the son-in-law and spiritual heir of Mohammed) and the Faghih."

According to Khomeyni, the traditional formula "The Faghihs are the confidants of the Prophets" means that "The Faghihs have the right to take responsibility for everything that was the province of the Prophets."

Thus, not satisfied with the place which he is cutting out for himself in heaven, Khomeyni, who proclaims himself a Faghih, is laying down the bases of his earthly government: "If a person...possessing the required qualities (those of the Faghih, revolts (against the established government) and forms a government, he deserves to have the same authority conferred on him as the Prophet himself. The entire nation has a duty to obey him."

As for the nation in question, Khomeyni assigns them their place by declaring: "The Faghih's exercise of power...has no other concrete reality than the Law which designates him the people's guardian." For Khomeyni this means that the Faghih is the natural guardian of the people, thus classified eternally as a minor. Doesn't he also write: "There is no difference between the designation of the guardian of a minor and that of a guardian of an entire nation, as far as function is concerned."

Thus, for Khomeyni, the people have an inferior status to that which a normal society accords a minor, for a minor attains his majority at 18 and then can legally dispose of his person and his goods. But the nation, as viewed by Khomeyni, remains eternally a minor, placed forever under the power of the clergy. This definition is particularly shocking because it applies to the Iranian nation, which has 7000 years of history and recorded civilization behind it.

It is on the basis of this manifesto that the present "Constitution," intended to govern a population considered feeble by Khomeyni and his accomplices, was prepared and written.

You will read astonishing extracts in our next issues.

[13 Apr 81 pp 3, 4]

[Text] In an initial article, we presented to our readers the fundamental element of Khomeyni's political thesis: the definition of the role of the Faghih (super theologian) with regard to the Islamic community whose guardianship he provides.

Before turning to the study of the most characteristic articles of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, it is necessary to put Khomeyni's written work in context.

In September 1979, the publishing firm Libres-Halliers published in French and Portuguese an anthology entitled "The Principles of the Ayatollah Khomeyni", edited on the basis of three of the false prophet's works. This anthology was republished in English in March 1980 by Bantam Editions in the United States. A general outburst of laughter greeted the event. Alas, the irremediable had already happened: Khomeyni, in power, was applying his "principles" step by step.

In fact the part of the developments which shocked the West the most is found in a banal religious tract, the "Towzihol-Massa'el". This type of tract is a form of "thesis" which in Shiite Islam is published by each candidate for the title of Ayatollah--a title which confers on him the religious and spiritual leadership of

several thousand scale. The religious candidate must propose a solution to certain problems of a practical nature, the number of which is approximately 2600. The solutions are in reality provided by tradition; only the formulation changes, and the details vary from one Ayatollah to another.

The socio-political thought of Khomeyni is explicitly presented in three works:

- The "Kashfol-Asrar" (The Key to the Mysteries), written prior to 1969.
- The "Kashefol-Ghetas" (For an Islamic Government), written in Nadjaf, Iraq in 1969.
- The "Velayat-e-Faghih" (The Faghih's Exercise of Power), also written in Nadjaf in 1971.

These three works, which are basically very similar, describe Khomeyni's political aims and his four-point plan for the conquest of the world, which can be summed up in the following manner:

First point: The founding in Iran of an Islamic government, the nature and organization of which is very precisely described in the three books. This government must function under the incontestable and inviolable authority of the Faghih, the heir of the Prophets of all times (sic), under the circumstances, he himself.

--The establishment of the Islamic Republic according to the heretical Khomeyni's standards is presently underway in Iran, despite the growing protests of the Iranian people. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic is proof of it.

Second point: The overthrow of various present governments of the Moslem States, with a view of making possible the establishment of a universal Islamic government:

"God decrees unconditional obedience of all believers in the Prophets. This is why a single organization is necessary in order to govern the Moslem community." (The Key to the Mysteries).

Third point: Territorial expansion and conquest of non-Islamic nations throughout the world. "Liberation" of peoples "oppressed" by abusive governments:

"The organization of the diverse governments of the world is illogical and unjust. These figurehead governments subdue peoples with bayonets. Their crimes must be unmasked, and the universal Islamic order must be proclaimed" (The Key to the Mysteries).

Fourth point: Establishment of the Islamic order, to the exclusion of all others, on the world level:

"We cannot do otherwise than to crush them (corrupt governments)...and this is the duty of each Moslem...for the victory of the Islamic political revolution (The Key to the Mysteries).

In fact, the Khomeynist phenomenon has benefited from the effect of surprise, then of paralysis caused by incredulity. Those who were not familiar with Khomeyni's political thought did not imagine the extent of his madness. Thus, they supported him and made it possible for him to get through the first stage which stakes out his conquest of the world. At present they are helping him in the second state: destabilization of Iraq, thanks to international complicity which is as naive as it is irrational.

The remarks made by Khomeyni during his disastrous stay in Neauphle-le-Chateau were enough to fool superficial observers in the West, who then hastened to "launch" him like a new brand of detergent:

"We demand the most elementary Rights of Man" (RTL, 2-11-78). "We propose an Islamic Republic based on justice and democracy. Once this Republic is founded, the world will recognize its system" (Press Conference, Neauphle-le-Chateau, 7-11-78). "Our society will be free, and censorship will be prohibited (SPIEGEL, 7-11-78). "In Islamic Iran the political parties will be free" (GARDIAN, 1-11-78).

Several months later, having come to power, Khomeyni changed his tune. "Don't listen to those who talk to you of democracy; they are the enemies of Islam" (Qom, 13 March 1979). "Those who did not vote for the Islamic Republic or who abstained from voting are trouble-makers. We will treat them accordingly and will crush them (Qom, 24 August 1979). "Those who create political fronts and parties should stop their activities immediately. We will authorize one or several parties, according to our goodwill. The others will be prohibited" (Qom, 18 August 1979).

"The Commission of the Rights of Man is an invention of the super powers, intended to protect their interests."

[20 Apr 81 pp 3, 4]

The definition of the Faghih, the chief religious and spiritual heir of the Prophets, and Khomeyni's political thought were presented in two preceding articles.

In order to read the following extracts, taken from the constitution of the Islamic Republic, devised by Khomeyni, it is important to know the following tradition. It is said, in Shiite Islam, that the twelfth Imam descended from the Prophet, who died at an early age, will come again to earth in order to convert the entire world to Islam. During the Occultation and until the return of the Hidden Imam (or the Imam of the Age), the religious leaders feel they are the legitimate successors of the Imams. All power retained by others than the religious descendants of the Prophet (black turbans) is thus considered to be usurpation.

Khomeyni, who had the modesty not to pass himself off as the Hidden Imam come back to earth, has himself called the "regent of the Imam of Time", however. This person, according to tradition, is entrusted with restoring to the world the order and morality necessary for the return of he who is also called the Mahdi--the saviour.

It should also be known that parliamentary order does not exist in Khomeyni's political thought:

"In an Islamic regime, the constituent assembly, composed of the representatives of three powers—legislative, judiciary and executive—is replaced by an Islamic assembly which programs and supervises the scope and quality of the required activities and services of the different ministries." (The Key to the Mysteries)

During his stay in France and until the summer of 1979, Khomeyni played the card of democracy in order to compel recognition, promising the creation of a Constituent Assembly entrusted with writing a new constitution which was to be ratified by a national referendum.

Despite this promise, when he concluded that an assembly of several hundred deputies would not be either at all reliable or very docile, he suddenly proclaimed the creation of an "assembly of experts" for the desired writing. This assembly, without legislative precedent either in Iran or in the world, consists of a handful of clergy who had been won over to his ideology and who are very docile. To those who protest, Khomeyni responds, "Those who fancy themselves intellectuals, demand a Constituent Assembly and oppose the assembly of experts should hold their tongues... They are afraid of this assembly which is resolved to establish and consolidate the Faghih's power. They are afraid of Islam." (Qom, 18 and 21 August 1979).

The principle of writing a new constitution having been blindly ratified by the Iranians during the referendum of 30 and 31 March 1979, the assembly of experts named by Khomeyni published on the 15 of the following November, a constitution made to order, cut to the size of Khomeyni's frenzy.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran:

Article 5. As long as the Occultation of the Imam of Time shall last, the exercise of power shall be the responsibility of a just and pious, courageous, authoritative and astute Faghih, recognized as such by the majority. If no Faghih happens to compel recognition, a leader or an assembly of leaders, consisting of several Faghihs, will be elected, according to the terms mentioned in Article 107.

Article 107: When a Faghih possessing the qualities enumerated in Article 5 of this constitution is recognized by the majority, as was the case for the grand Master and Guide of the Revolution, the Illustrious Ayatollah Khomeyni, this leader will have the responsibility of exercising power and all the prerogatives which derive therefrom. If this is not the case, experts selected by the people will examine the capacities of the various religious leaders. If one of the candidates proves to be equal to the responsibility, he will be named. If not, three or five of the religious leaders among the most qualified will share the exercise of power within a council.

Article 110: The Powers of the Leader:

1. Nomination of the members of council of guardians of the constitution, selected from among the clergy.

2. Nomination of the supreme judicial authority of the country.
3. Supreme command of all the armed forces, and the right to declare war.
4. Signature of the decree ratifying the election of the president of the republic by universal suffrage.
5. Removal of the president of the republic from office if the interests of the country and the supreme judicial and legislative authorities require it.
6. Granting pardons to prisoners--within the limits authorized by Islam--at the request of the judicial authorities.

Article 23. Inquisition is prohibited, and no one can be contested, repressed or condemned for his opinions.

Article 14: The Islamic Republic of Iran and all Moslems have the duty of acting according to the norms of Islamic morality and justice and equity toward non-Moslems whose rights they must respect. This principle does not apply to those who conspire against Iran and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Article 11. All the Moslems of the world form a community. The Islamic Republic has the duty of establishing a policy which aims at creating political, economic and cultural union of Islamic populations within a single administration.

Article 154. The Islamic Republic of Iran sets the aim of the welfare of all mankind and is making serious efforts to encourage the future of independence, liberty and justice and equity on the world level. This is why, while avoiding interference in the internal affairs of the states, it supports the liberation struggles of oppressed peoples against their oppressors, wherever they may be in the world.

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AYATOLLAHS MAKE PRONOUNCEMENTS ON POLICY, IDEOLOGY

Beheshti on Iraqi War

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 16 Apr 81 p 1

[Text] Tehran--"Our nation with reliance on God is ready to drive out the aggressor from our land," said Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Ayatollah Dr. Seyed Mohammad Beheshti yesterday.

Addressing a press conference, he said that this is the way adopted by our nation, Ommat and our Imam and pointed out that all are following this way firmly.

Beheshti said that the recent incidents indicate that the Armed Forces and our society should cover this road with firm determination so that in future resistance should be the only answer in case of aggression by Iraq or any other attack.

He said, "I'm very much optimistic about the victory and the day is not very far."

Beheshti was asked to give details of the plan for the judiciary as the current year has been declared as the year of law and order by the Imam.

He said that efforts are being made to eliminate all shortcomings in the present judicial system of the country and pointed out that the issue was also referred to the Imam.

Beheshti said that the Imam agreed that the number of the present number of courts should be reduced so that all the courts may be equipped with all necessary facilities including trained and suitable personnel.

He was asked about the Iranian plan to diffuse the plots hatched by the U.S. and Britain when the two countries foreign ministers had discussed the issues of the Middle East.

Beheshti said the issue has two aspects and added that according to the first aspect we should keep ready our nation, socially and economically on the lines of Islam.

The other aspect, he said, is that we should furnish all necessary information to our neighbors regarding these and other plots of the imperialists.

For that, Beheshti pointed out, the news media and political representatives should be active more and more so that the people of the region should be aware of the facts.

The chief justice said that constructive criticism is welcomed. But he said the sensitivity of the time should be kept in mind so that the responsible officials may perform their duties properly.

He said that the Islamic Republic Party, of which he is the Secretary-General, never favored continuation of the war, but always wanted to live in peace and tranquility.

He, however, added that IRP stand can be summarised as: 1) The aggressor should evacuate our land and for such evacuation he has no right to impose any condition whatsoever on Iran and 2) After the evacuation, we do not have any need to negotiate. If some talk is necessary with Iraqi nation for their benefit, it should be held with Iraq's real representative.

Beheshti stressed that this was the wish of the fighters at the fronts, the nation and the Imam.

The IRP leader was asked a question on the President who has filed a suit against the premier and Behzad Nabavi regarding the blockade of properties.

The leader said that the case involved two aspects. One is social and political assigned by Imam to the Tripartite Commission to solve differences between the leaders.

The other aspect is judicial and rests with the prosecutory of Tehran and pertinent officials.

The chief justice explained that the anti-IRP foreign propaganda owed to the fact that since the earliest days IRP followed and follows Islamic, political and uncompromising policy.

The propaganda wagers well knew that the prominent IRP faces will strengthen the Iranian arena with its purely Islamic and powerful organization.

Those who eye the society with greed should give up and know that the days of their visible and invisible (Lordship) on these people are over, he added.

Khamenei on Anti-Sunni Allegation

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 18 Apr 81 p 1

[Text] Tehran--"They are lying. Nobody wants to violate the rights of Sunnis and to transform this Islamic Republic into an anti-Sunni Republic," said the capital's Friday prayer Imam in the religious-political ceremony yesterday.

Hojjatolislam Seyed Ali Khamenei made the comments in a large gathering of prayers at the Tehran University grounds where Premier Mohammadali Rajai and Turkish trade minister were also present.

Before the prayer, Tehran's Deputy in Majlis Dr. Abbas Sheibani, told the people about shortages due to the economic boycott. He said that these shortages could be overtaken by reducing consumption and increasing production.

He advocated utilization of all available resources to overcome the shortcomings in agricultural sector.

Sheibani told the prayer masses that the "enemy which does not want to confront you" is sowing discord between the people.

To diffuse the enemy's conspiracies, the deputy continued, the people should safeguard their unity. And if we have a valid constructive criticism to make, we should make it in a way that does not hamper our unity, he added.

The Head of the War Refugee Foundation Mostafa Mirsalim then spoke to the masses and referred to the conspiracies of Saddam.

"Very soon, our Army, people and Revolutionary Guards will be able to drive the Forces of Saddam the American out of our sacred land," Mirsalim told them.

"And also our people who are equipped with the weapon of 'Allah-o-Akbar,' today shoulder a grave duty towards all the people effected by the war," the War Refugee Foundation chief informed the people.

In second sermon, the Hojjatoleslam praised God and Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) and said:

The evergreen issues of our society is the issue of preservice of unity in this revolutionary society.

One of the political-military analysts wrote an article in a European magazine on Iran. He says: "The present situation of the Iran-Iraq war has placed Iraq in a very weak position and there is no hope of victory for Iraq....

"Today, any kind of peace agreement signed between Iran and Iraq will be infact a gift for Saddam because it is not possible for him to continue this war any longer than this."

The writer concludes by writing something that agrees with my own opinion. He says: "The only thing which can change the situation in favor of Iraq and it may put Iran in a weak position.

"And that is the 'tension' and the 'social confrontation' within Iran."

If such a tension takes place in Iran's society or one part of it, this will be the Savior of Saddam.

When we read this statement and analyze the issues with due consideration, we come to understand to whom these efforts in the different ranks of society to create confrontations will benefit!

And then we understand who is helping the enemy by raising the issue of Shi'ites and Sunnis and similar problems today under these circumstances!

In the first sermon, Khamenei said that those who objected on Islamic Republic affairs were drowned in materialism. He blamed the rich people and capitalists for hindering the progress of revolution.

He said the rich, well-to-do faction did not shoulder its responsibility to advance the revolutionary, Islamic society.

Instead, he continued, the middle class and poor people always met their duties and tolerated the hardships and shared the heavy weight of the revolution with their sacrifices.

"If one society is to stay healthy and if it is not to be crumpled," the Hojjatoleslam appealed, "the movement of the rich people should be blocked."

Khamenei said that in Islamic Republic system the government's economic programs should be scheduled in a way that the poor people should march towards living a life of ease and comfort.

And those who live in ease and comfort should not climb towards that richness trend which is naturally corrupt and is "a danger bell for Islamic Revolution, a song of downfall and crumbling of the Islamic society."

The Friday prayer Imam called on one and all to implement new Islamic values in the society in talks as well as in practice.

Today, the discordant efforts and movements in our society is very intense. One of the causes of discord is the Shi'ite and Sunni issue.

I will describe to you two lines. One discordant line you have already heard was that a few months ago, they told in Taif's Conference that: "The diagnosis for treatment of Iran-Iraq war is (to wage) a war between Shi'ite and Sunnis."

We were awaiting for such a plan and today we see its indications. There are a series of stands taken by Shi'ites and Sunnis against each other. Selfish people are behind these plots and unselfish people are unconsciously falling casualty to it. They should awake.

This is the line of "discord." Another line is of "unity," "unity of word," coordination of all Moslems and this is that very same "Imam's Line."

Unity is what Imam always stresses upon. If there was no unity, the revolution would not have succeeded. And even now if there is no unity of word between you Iranian nation, and there is no unity of word between Shi'ite and Sunni, the revolution will be once again threatened.

Let Shi'ite and Sunni stand against each other... It is a lie that state organs want to convert Sunnis into Shi'ites.

In another part of his speech, Khamenei severely criticized those who were still trying to weaken the governmental organs, government and the judicial body, thus violating the guidelines of the Imam.

Those who claim to follow the Imam's line should not commit such violations and insult the state bodies, he said.

He hailed 29th Farvardin, today, which is the "Day of Army" and said the Imam had named this day as Army's Day. Khamenei said that formerly the Army did not belong to people whereas it now belongs to people.

Mehkini on National Uprisings

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 18 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

And they start the action in their own countries and start it and/or from within the country through different commando methods and the like, to create the spirit of commando within them and to supply them with moral support as an example to be followed by them, and they start it.

And I think that one of the best ways is to substantially advance our own revolution and practically show to the world and the other countries that we are Islamic and to build-up and develop this country as an Islamic country in all its meaning.

From the viewpoint of system and administration and culture and economy and other aspects, we should subject our country to become 100 per cent Islamic.

And this in itself is something that when anyone comes one day to live in such a country, and when he leaves, he should think that he had entered a heaven and he has left a heaven.

And he will naturally go and try to implement a revolution like our Islamic revolution there.

Therefore, we should advance our own revolution very much based on the precise and exact Islamic program and to totally achieve victory in our revolution and become a moderate nation, a nation safeguarded from the deviation of the East and West and an ideal nation.

Q: As you are already aware, countries including Islamic and non-Islamic, and Islamic Associations throughout the world are insistently desirous of dispatch from Iran of preachers from Qom's theological center for propagating

the true Islam the result of which is the Islamic Revolution of Iran. You, as one of the renowned clergy of Iran, what actions have you carried out in this field?

A: This is another of the aspirations of the theological center and the clergy that they do something to introduce Islamic ideas everywhere. Of course, by the Grace of God, such an atmosphere has been created and ready to accomplish the task.

For this task, thinking has been done in the theological center and now also they are busy so that a group is trained. Its program has been laid out and now, upto what extent such things has been commenced, I do not remember, but the program is there.

It involves that they should also read the (foreign) language and also respond to the part of the Islamic ideas, the parts on which increased publicity should be made outside the country.

And/or the portion of things they talk about and spread peace against Islam, and such things should be outlined and its answer should be given. In short, our group should be equipped with the weapon of wisdom and reason for conveying the Islamic orders.

This thing was there in the center, now also generally one group is in foreign comprehension. Implementations were started very recently. We hope that by the desire of God this work will be carried out.

Q: Hadrat, Ayatollah, you please advise how would you accept peace terms with Saddam?

A: These things I am

other countries should also confirm this case.

That it still is the very same (i.e., the 1975 pact between Iran and Iraq signed in Algeria is still valid) and has not been cancelled.

After these two terms the third condition is that Saddam should be ready that one international trial be formed and he should be ready to go on trial on an international level and the aggressive party should pay the damages of war.

And the losses that had been incurred in this case in Iran whether it is concerning the casualties of human life or finance, if that court determined that we were the aggressor and we attacked Iraq and we started the war, we are the invader and we are the aggressor, the Islamic country that we have claims that we want to implement Islamic orders with precision, then we are ready to pay the losses.

And if, no, the judgment is made that Saddam was the aggressor, based on this he should be responsible for all the losses that were created in Iran, he should pay the price of the bloodshed of our martyrs.

Here, some problems will be created that we regard the government of Saddam as an illegal government and a

telling is my own personal view. Since sometimes the gentlemen ask some things and later they go and think that I have told all these on behalf of all the clergies and even on behalf of the Majlis and government and the Imam.

But some of these talks, I am sure, is the viewpoint of all the clergy. But, temporarily, it is my own opinion.

As to Saddam, the first term is that Saddam should withdraw his forces in a way that one inch of Iran's soil does not remain under the foot of Saddamites.

They should go back until they return to where they were before. They should not keep occupied even one centimeter of Iranian land.

The second term is that that the revolution which was approved there in Algeria and Saddam himself signed it there. This also he should again approve and sign it and the heretic government which dominated the Iraqi nation by force.

Based on this, from where Saddam will produce to come and compensate these casualties, and he should pay from the money of the nation. We regard Iraqi nation as our brother and we were not ready to fight with them.

We were not ready to kill brothers, nor we are now, and the reality is that we are killing the Iraqi nation now. But not that we are doing this because we have enmity with them.

The issue is the issue of fight between Islam and Heretics. This means that in the issue of waging a Holy War, the clergy say that if bloodless prisoners are kept aside, one group is brought from wherever they are and kept behind their own rows, and if we want to attack, we should first kill a long queue of our own brothers in order to become victorious.

In such a case, the clergy say that this act (killing your own brothers) is allowed because the country as well as Islam are in danger and if the lives of one group is taken, it is like the lives of those who go from here and get killed.

This issue, that we are now killing the Iraqi, is applicable under this case. We kill our own brothers, who are more

dear to us than our own selves, because Islam is in danger and our revolution is in danger.

Therefore, he (Saddam), from where he will bring?

Here the issue is religious jurisprudence. This means that if one madman has killed one wise man, the penalty is not paid by the mad man.

The (madman's) family from his father's side should get together and pay that penalty. If we want to take the compensation from Saddam, it is possible that Saddam will not have the money to pay us.

We go after someone who has brought that madman to power and we should catch Saddam and that someone by the collar.

Mashkini on Pro-Iraqi Countries

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 19 Apr 81 pp 1, 3

[Text]

(Contd. from yesterday)

These are the United States, France and Soviet Union which provided him with military assistance and as well as other Islamic countries who are not any lesser than Saddam and helped him in that area and should pay the compensation for the losses.

Q. How will be the behavior with those governments who are now definitely having acute cooperation with Saddam Hussein against Iran?

A. Now, our encounter with these governments is not sore or violent but we regard these governments as being the same as the government of Iraq. What difference does it make.

They have stood behind the Saddam's war from and are sending financial and moral, and sometimes military assistance

to him. And we know that from Egypt they are sending handgrenades and mines for him.

With these (countries), our behavior is the very same behavior that should be considered for Saddam. They should also be dragged to a table of trial our day and at the beginning we shall estimate to their

nations that your governments have been undertaking such transactions and have inflicted such losses on us with the help of Saddam. You (the nations) should reply for your governments.

And after that what there will be and what they will say I cannot now forecast.

Q. What is your opinion regarding the governmental body, Majlis and the Judiciary?

A. What I know is that those who are supervisors of judgment affairs and are authorities of the Judicial Body,

of course Imam has appointed them.

I am generally familiar with and know the chairing committee of the judiciary, the chief justice of the Supreme Court, the prosecutor general, the revolutionary prosecutor and the Supreme Judicial Council.

They are people who are religious jurists, committed, responsible, Islamic, and cent per cent in the line of Imam.

They come from the pious, honest and superior clergy from the theological center and they are also good religious judges and I am very optimistic of them.

And if they can administer the country, the country will have a highly esteemed Judicial Body in the country in future. However, there are some shortcomings in their tasks in a sense that they do not have

competent persons.

Since Pahlavi did not give us the permission to train judges in the theological center to meet the requirements of the country and we had not been prepared for such phase, therefore they have shortage of manpower.

And now they are thinking of that and are busy in the theological center and special classes for the clergy gentlemen are busy in taking lessons.

By the Will of God, if their shortcomings are overtaken and put out in the future, our judicial unit will become an Islamic judicial unit.

Majority of the Majlis has committed and responsible people. Among them there are some people who sometimes make us unhappy with their methods and speeches.

And, of course, it is not possible that one Majlis come up as wholly being correct. By the Will of God, we hope they will return and follow a true line of Islam.

Well, it seems they do not have any ill intentions. All have taken oath for the Constitution and have committed themselves to act.

They should pay attention that sometimes their line of philosophy is not adjustable with that of Constitution and sometimes their speeches are an act of breach of that promise.

They know that Islam places a great value and emphasis on keeping promises and has called on for co-operation to be made by those who violate a promise, as it is ordered in Quran.

I personally feel that the government of our brother Mr. Rapan is good and satisfactory and keeps up to the line. But for the future, only God knows. And we can temporarily pray that he achieve success by the Will of God.

Q: Since this newspaper is circulated in foreign countries, it would be obliging if Your Honor describes some of the multi-dimensional personality of Imam Khomeini.

A: The issue of describing the personality of a man requires the capability to do justice with assessments and it is not possible for a simple human being to appreciate the personality of a great man.

Therefore, we can describe only one perspective from the numerous dimensions of the personality of Imam and this requires a very detailed explanation.

Islam is Maktah in which

man is its necessity and so far in history it has created men who became the absolute deposit for the credibility of the religion of Islam.

If you want to totally comprehend, recognize the magnitude and the truth of a Maktah one of the methods is to recognize it through those who were brought up in that Maktah.

Such a man is one of the grains produced by a factory. For example: Hazrat Ali (AS). And another of such persons is the Imam of our Muslim nation.

When Islam develops a human being, it develops a multi-dimensional human being. One aspect of the human being is the aspect of 'thinking'. Another aspect is 'psychological' and 'practicality'.

It shows high and correct ideals and thoughts in the human beings and purifies one from the ugly qualities and gives a right method and character to the human being.

Imam possesses all these

aspects. His thoughts are philosophical, juridical and clerical. And it is about 40 years since I have been referring his books and its contents on numerous fields.

It is clear that he has a clear-cut approach of thought groomed by Islam.

As to the dimension of morality, the fact is that he used to deliver moral lessons in the theological center and he used to practically implement these lessons of Islamic morals in such a way that he used to impress everyone and a man understood that Islam is flowing from his (Imam's) tongue.

And, moreover, he has a practical aspect the element of which is based on Islam and piety. And, besides, he enjoys a series of the practical aspects in Islam and he is also very strong in terms of the political aspect.

From the beginning, we saw him taking political stand in various incidents from the period of Late Mr. Borujirdi and may be earlier than that in the period of Late Mr. Sadr and Hojat.

Now we understand how deep those stands were and this political maturity of this man is proportionate with his spiritual way of thinking. He is placed well above and is therefore a man whose nature embraces the humanitarian, Islamic and political dimensions.

And these issues have been clear to everyone and descriptions of it are not necessary since it is clear for all.

Iran is very small for him and the reality is that he is a humble man that he has stayed in Iran and his supervision has become restricted to Iran.

Give the whole earth to him and later tell him: "You order and we will act". Will not he reform this planet Earth under the flag of Islam within a short period?

I want from God to protect his existence for us and to give the people the honor to recognize the religion of this man.

THE END

Mahdavi-Kani on Tripartite Commission

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 20 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN (Pars) — Two members of the Tripartite Commission to settle domestic disputes, Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani, the minister of the Interior and the Imam's representative at the Commission, and Ayatollah Esbraqi, President Baniadr's representative in the Commission were received by the Leader of the Revolution and Foun-

der of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeini yesterday.

Speaking to Pars reporter after the meeting, Ayatollah Kani said that they conferred with the leader of the revolution about the issues taken up by the Tripartite Commission and asked the Imam if the Commission's scope of investigations covered violations (of law) committed by the country's officials, or only where disputes might lead to tension.

In reply the leader of the revolution said that the Commission should investigate any problems that might cause differences and try to bring about an atmosphere of understanding between the concerned officials.

Otherwise, he noted, there are legal institutions, such as the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis) and the Prosecutor's Office that have the duty of investigating any cases of violation. In the first place such cases should be referred to the proper legal authorities. But if they lead to discord we would act as an arbitrator with a view to cooling down the tension. Mahdavi Kani added.

The minister of interior said that he also discussed with the Imam some issues of his ministry.

Kani said that the ministry was going to appoint governors general to vacant provincial positions and also make necessary preparations for by-elections for the vacant seats in the Majlis.

In a separate meeting yesterday Imam Khomeini received a number of Ulema from Golpayegan and members of the Islamic Propagation Headquarters of the city.

During this meeting, which took place at Jamaaran Mosque, the Imam stressed that the Ulema should enlighten the public in the villages as well as in the cities and prevent perverted propaganda.

Other groups received by the Imam yesterday included the personnel of the Afsariyeh Military Garrison (Hamzeh 21st Division) and a number of Modern inhabitants of Paveh in Kermanshah Province.

Montazeri on Western Materialism

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 18 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

QOM (Pars) — Ayatollah Montazeri, led the glorifying congregational Friday prayers at the shrine of Hazrat-e Masoumeh attended by a large number of the local people.

Ayatollah Jannati, who was the pre-prayer speaker at the gathering said "in light of the satanic letters which have recently been sent from France in relation to some of the leaders has warned them and said "after the Islamic Revolution there is no honor left for the United States then why are they trying to spread rumors in the society which is on the path of God."

Ayatollah Montazeri then presided over the prayers and his sermons quoted the verse from the Holy Quran 'Falaq' which states that even out of the devil, the human can derive a humanistic value.

Pointing to the youth who are astray, Montazeri said, "justice and freedom are well meant provided you are not deceived by the materialistic charm of the west, as evil and corruption has infested every corner of the Western society."

The Friday Imam in his first sermon of the prayer said it is the duty of the womenfolk to steer their men towards production line and should share the decision making of them."

He said, "It is through unity we succeeded and it is probable through the plots manifested by the enemies of Islam that the revolutionary zeal would get lethargic."

The Friday Imam then said

through the unity and understanding of the Shi'ite and Sunni brothers, the recent plot by the enemies of Islam to sow discord between the two brothers, were suffocated."

In his second sermon, Montazeri indicating to the Armed Forces Day and during the past regime, because the people were

against the oppressor, they did not associate themselves with the dependent Army but time has ripened in a inseparable love between the clergy and the Armed Forces making it possible for the proper propagation of the Islamic political ideology to a wide span."

Public support for the Army has blossomed into a tall thorn into the red eyes of the enemy of the Islamic Republic of Iran," the Ayatollah said.

Montazeri on Shi'ite-Sunni Discord

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 20 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

QOM -- "I am certain that Islam's marja'eh and the Sunni clerics, with utmost discretion and knowledge, are observing the hands of the United States and international Zionism in the midst of these incidents," said Ayatollah Huseinuli Montazeri, referring to the conspiracy to divide Shi'ite and Sunni Moslems.

In a telegram to Revolutionary Leader Imam Khomeini who had referred to the existence of conspiracy in some of the theological centers in Iran, Montazeri said:

"The level of knowledge and political maturity in Qom's theological center by the Grace of God, is to an extent that such Zionist conspiracies, proposed to colonialistic Taif's Conference through Kissinger, has no effect whatsoever."

The Qom's Friday prayer

Imam emphasized that with the wise leadership of the founder of the Islamic Republic, the theological centers were a strong fort of Islam.

These centers through tireless efforts of the clergy "were and are the trenches of Islam and knowledge and a nursery of great Islamic Revolution."

"The glorious history of this base of Imam Sadeq (AS) is witness as to how it resisted

against the satanic conspiracies of SAVAK during the period of the (dead) shah's regime," the clergyman told the Imam.

He further said that invisible hands were underway to divert nation's attention from the issue of the United States and Saddam's imposed war on Iran and to make these issues forgotten affairs.

Montazeri said enemies wanted to replace these issues

with false calculated rumors to create discord and a war between Shi'ites and Sunnis.

But he hoped that clergy ranks of both sects of Islam observe these American and Zionist plots.

He hoped the clerics of both sects will not pay any heed to false rumors spread against plans that baselandy warns of destruction of religious literature of Sunnis on one

hand and speaks of destruction of literature of Shi'ites on the other.

"As Your Honor has instructed," Montazeri assured the Imam, "the brave youths of Islam are knowledgeably alert and aware of the situation and will discover and report any anti-revolutionary move or action to the responsible authorities who will in turn act on their Islamic duties."

Golpayegani on National Media

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN - National radio and television are at all times of the day and every hour, propagating a crusade against infidels, Ayatollah Golpayegani told members of the Voice and Vision of the Islamic Republic (VVIR)'s Supervisory Council yesterday.

Supervisory Council members of the VVIR called separately on Ayatollah Marashi Najafi, Ayatollah Hoosaini Montazeri and Ayatollah Golpayegani yesterday.

In their visits they discussed various issues concerning the national media.

Ayatollah Golpayegani continuing said that the radio and TV "was tongue and mirror of the nation", and reflected both the successes achieved and also its shortcomings.

He said that the media also reflected the development and progress of affairs in the land and the enemies of the nation are now more afraid of the power it exercises.

He further alluded to those who appeared in the "guise of true Muslims but who were indeed hypocrites working for the destruction of Islam."

Finally, Ayatollah Golpayegani prayed for the success of the Supervisory Council in their "great mission."

Khamenei on Closure of Universities

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Apr 81 p 1

[Text]

TEHRAN - Closure of the Universities did not mean the closure of the doors of knowledge, said Hojatoleslam Seyed Ali Khamenei at Friday prayer sermons at the University grounds yesterday.

Khamenei who said it was a year since Universities were ordered closed and this was done with the very salutary purpose of creating an Islamic environment in the Universities.

He said that in the time of the shah students who entered the Universities and professors in them belonged to the affluent classes. They did not, therefore, serve the genuine needs of the poor and down-trodden in society, the prayer leader said.

Then, he said, a great many of the students no sooner they finished their studies have proceeded abroad.

"All this has nothing to do with the Revolution," Hojatoleslam Khamenei said.

He said that he had asked the members of the Cultural Revolution Council to make a very close study of the situation with a view to creating pure Islamic trends in the Universities and "not to hurry with reopening the Universities."

"The people have patience, try not to be distracted from your main objectives by rushing, or by being misled by counter-revolutionaries," the prayer leader said.

He advised the Cultural Revolution members.

Khamenei said that during the former regime in Sudan and Baluchistan there were only 2 or 3 per cent of students in the Universities there. "But in Tehran, there were almost 55 per cent," he said.

He said that among 15,000 professors and teachers at Universities throughout the country, 9,000 were teaching in Tehran.

In another part of the sermon he said, "Tomorrow (today) is the birthday of Fatemeh Zahra, the unique daughter of our Prophet Mohammad."

"For us, Lamina, in addition to it being her birthday, tomorrow (today) is 'Women's Day.'"

In the former regime, men and women were very much debased and suffered from immense moral degradation caused by its anti-human mentality. Today, is the day to compensate for it. Our women must be very well-educated and must participate in the political affairs and strengthen the Islamic Republic.

WOMEN'S ROLE IN ISLAMIC SOCIETY HONORED

Family Rights

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Apr 81 p 3

[Interview with Ms Azam Taleqani]

[Text]

TEHRAN (Pers) - Today is the birth anniversary of the sole daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, Fatemeh Zahra. For this occasion the following interview was held with Ms. Azam Taleqani, who is a Majlis deputy and a prominent Moslem women activist:

Q. What is your view on the designation of "Woman's Day" for the birth anniversary of Fatemeh Zahra?

A. In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. I believe that naming a day, "Woman's Day" serves no purpose, for these types of formalities belong to the former regime. Naming a day "Woman's Day" necessarily requires a "Man's Day" and a "Child's Day"... one cannot isolate women from the rest of the society, and name a day for them. However, if they set aside a day to discuss publicly women's character, mentality, behavior and the problems they inevitably face in this

society of ours, that certainly, is a different story. In any case, we already have expressed our views on this naming two years ago when it took place.

Q. Ever since the Islamic Revolution became victorious, what has been done for women?

A. After the success of the Islamic Revolution, the "law for the support of the family" suddenly ceased to be enforced and thus men took immense advantage of this and married for the second or third time, in addition to their own spouses. So Imam Khomeini, issued the decree that the courts and magistrates, must, up to the point that justice is not disturbed, take the sides of women and give her the custody of the offspring whenever she is competent. The Imam also has issued a similar decree to the head of the Foundation for the Martyrs, Kaveebi, regarding those women whose husbands were martyred in the battlefronts. This has been sent to all courts and

magistrates. Our courts have undergone substantial improvement and betterment. So have the judges. For example, after a couple divorces each other, the procedure is that the wife get sufficient and satisfying reasons of support from her husband.

Q. What has the Majlis done for women?

A. We have presented a comprehensive program concerning the rights of the family, to the judicial committee of the Majlis. So far we have not received any response. I have protested over this delay and we are at the time being, preparing another plan, more detailed and richer which would be submitted to the Majlis soon after its completion.

Also I interpellated the minister of welfare regarding Article 21, Clause 4 (of the Constitution) which states that divorcees and lonely women must be provided with full insurance.

Rehabilitation of Society

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Apr 81 p 3

[Interview with Maryam Behrouzi]

[Text] Tehran (TEHRAN TIMES)--A reputed woman dignitary Maryam Behrouzi has called on Moslem women all over the world to return to embracing Islam and rehabilitating the societies they live in.

In an interview done by TEHRAN TIMES correspondent F. Sobhani, the laureate said there were a lot of epitomes in Islamic history to which Moslem women could adjust their behavior.

Behrouzi listed the epitomes as Hazrat Khadijeh Cobra (wife of Mohammad), Fatemeh Zahra (wife of Ali-), Zainab (daughter of Ali) and Somayyeh, Soudeh and Nasibeh.

She said Iranian women were pressurized to following colonialist culture which heavily conflicted with the noble Islamic one. "They have successfully shrugged aside the imposed culture after the revolution," she noted.

Asked to comment on important duties imposed by Islam for women, Behrouzi asserted Moslem women should be complete in every facet of life. "She should be a model mother, a model wife, an obedient daughter and an effective person for society," she said.

Our correspondent shot at her: "In what lies the superiority of women in the Islamic order over those in capitalism and Communism?" Reciting a verse from the Qoranic chapter of Nesa, Behrouzi explained Islam reserved equality between man and woman in all respects.

Islam paid high esteem to women, Behrouzi said and elaborated: "No where in the Qoran does it mention that a man has begot a child on his own, but Maryam (St. Mary) has been brought down as a pure woman who on her own has brought up a complete child, Jesus Christ."

Behrouzi lashed out at the image of women in capitalist and Communist orders. She said in capitalism, women were regarded as commodities to be exploited because its yardstick was money. "Even if she is not made into a commodity, she is used for promoting a commodity," she observed.

Communism, Behrouzi said, did not allow women to sense their value as constructive persons but were regarded important so far as they worked.

In reply to the question what metamorphosis was noticed in women after the revolution, Behrouzi merely lauded the virtues of women with veils. It was women who considered their veils as emplacements who led demonstrations against the shah's regime and negated its filthy views on women, she said.

"Before the revolution, women, were ignorant and hence indignified and follower of a fictitious culture coming from the West. So heavily were our women exploited then that they had felt they did not possess any culture," Behrouzi said.

But she said, "there were many other women in Iran who never went under the imposition of evil designs but as always trekked the path of religion. These were those who covered their bodies with the virtues veil."

Asked how she rationalized Islam's opposition on women taking on administrative roles such as judgment, Behrouzi said, "These are heavy roles which are best abstained by women considering their more important role of a mother."

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Apr 81 p 3

[Interview with Ms Dastghaeyb]

[Text]

TEHRAN - "Women's position in the capitalist society is viewed only in economic terms for that she had to go up to any level of corruption, said Majlis Deputy Gouhar Al-Sharish Dastghaib.

In an exclusive interview with the TEHRAN TIMES, the woman deputy of the Islamic Majlis said the Communist society is also the same and considered the woman as the means of economic production.

Mrs. Dastghaib said that the future generation in these societies do get the direct supervision of their mothers. The children are put into nurseries and other institution like that.

"If the woman creates something in economic terms she is worth otherwise she has no value in the society," Dastghaib remarked.

Her children are kept in the nurseries so that she can work in factories or she can produce grains in the Communist society, she said.

Dastghaib said woman's status in Islam is high and she is meant for the inculcation of thoughts among her children and thus produces high value in human beings.

The woman has a long history of ups and downs in the world and she has been victim of all sort of injustices, she said and added that so much so some chapters of the world history are witness that the woman was something to sell and buy like other commodities.

She said that this was the woman which used to be distributed among heirs like other properties.

Dastghaib quoted the Islamic Revolutionary leader Imam Khomeini who said that the woman has been a victim of all sort of brutality in the world specially during the early days of the history and during the recent years when the human being had gone astray from God's path.

She said that was the time when the woman's value was just economic and her position was nothing but merely a commodity for economic purposes.

She said it is time to worry on what specific steps are to be taken so that the woman may get her due place in the society and pointed out that Islam leads to the right way and definitely gives her right place in the society.

The Holy Quran points the brightest picture of woman in the society and the Islamic history can produce a number of example for a model woman. She quoted the example of Pharaoh's wife Asiah who after defection adopted a right way. She rejected all worldly values and took abode in the right path.

Dastghaib said the woman should not be dictated by the society or any particular situation and added that

they should be creators of society and situation based on the Islamic principles.

She said that Asiah left all her worldly pleasures and went along with Prophet Moses (AS) because she knew her value and the value of truth and above all she had faith in God.

The history gives a lot of examples of the women who actually made the history through their sacrifices and devotion towards God. The example, she said, Khadija the great is known to all Moslems. She extended all help to the Holy Prophet so that he could fulfill his mission, Dastghaib said.

The most important duty of a woman is to create a family on the lines of Islam. She is responsible for the creation of a pure society, Dastghaib said.

She must produce a family, the member of which should rush the place where any sort of corruption is prevailing. These members of the family should eliminate that corruption from that place.

Such actions, she said, can be done only through a committed Muslim woman.

Dastghaib said that Holy Quran has specifically mentioned the freedom and liberty of women. She said the Holy Book has said that man and woman have been created from the same mould and are both independent.

The Holy Quran has mentioned 200 times about the woman, her duty for her children and atmosphere of the family. In Islam, she said, man is responsible for looking after the woman.

Of course, she said, the liberation of woman could be different meanings in Islam compared to the materialistic society. She said if the liberation of woman means that she should be allowed to present cabaret and dance programs in the public entertainment places then Islam prevents that sort of liberation.

Before the Islamic Revolution, the Iranian woman was under the influence of

West and when during Reza Khan's time her 'hejab' was removed from here all the women in Iran did not surrender before that unIslamic orders.

She said that all sort of pressures during the 50 years of tyrannical regime, there were women who did not give up their faith in Islam and produced such people who stood for Islam and sacrificed even their lives for Islam.

The women did not remain away from their counterparts in the Islamic activities and during the revolution and on the occasion of the 10 and 11 Moharram, thousands of women came on the streets to continue the struggle of Islamic revolution.

If there would have been any restrictions on the women, she pointed out they would have never come on the streets along with their counterparts for such a noble cause.

You see, she said, after the revolution these women have also taken active part in different educational and social fields along with their counterparts.

On the question as how the women can be active in social and political activities along with her 'hijab' or veil she said the history gives a good example for that too.

She said that during Christian crusades, the women were everywhere in hijab. They were helping their counterparts in the fields of war serving the warriors as physicians and supplying the provisions for the wounded.

She said that the message on the occasion of Women's Day is that the women should follow the example of Fatemah (AS). The women should get an upto date knowledge of Islam so that they can lead the society. Dastghaib said and added that the women should stand for the rights of people.

Religious Resurgence

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 25 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by Maryam Behruzi]

[Text]

The most important movements in the history of Islam are the movements of blood and martyrdom and holy war and battles with any kind of oppression.

Pertinently, this is the time for a talk and discussion on the role of women.

This very woman is the basis and foundation of this movement and the character of our women should be portrayed, now, since we are endeavoring to export the revolution.

As the enlivening school of thought of Islam has absorbed all forces within itself and enjoys a total independence, it is essential that the people of the world shed their inhibition.

People should not have such misgivings that in former regime 17th Dey (day of humiliation) was observed as Woman's Day and in Islamic Republic 5th Farvardin, birthday of Hazrat-e-Fatemeh, is observed as Woman's Day.

No. It is not as simple as that. We should analyze and debate to see what and which is the Woman's Day.

In Woman's Day the day that Europe and America named for women. Or is it something else and other than that?

These corrupt and corrupted and helpless European and American women have been crushed to pieces under the same of freedom and democracy and do not have any way of salvation.

The dirtiness and humiliation of these women is so imposing that the annual statistics keep mounting up with indications of vast moral decline in the foreign lands.

Each year, devastating jumps are recorded indicating ever-increasing prostitution, venereal diseases, permissive children, suicides, murders, and dismay and destruction of families.

The European and American writers themselves acknowledge that the women are on the verge of downfall and decline in the 20th century.

17th Dey was the day of humiliation for women, a deceptive freedom, the day of imprisonment, and keeping the women chained through oppressors.

17th Dey: a day which was submerged into the Western false morality which took inspiration from the whirlpool of corruption and helplessness.

And how well the plotters understood that Moslem and Maktabi women of Iran and all over the world never once did submit themselves to be imprisoned for even one moment by these moral chains.

Their vicious plots could not modify or effect these women brought up in Islam's Maktab. These women with "Hijab" dealt a strong blow on the chin of world-wide imperialism and its servant.

And the deceived, helpless women who were being played with and exploited by plotters, did not even know where they were heading.

Anyway, what did the Western women had? And what do they have? In a so-called civilized democratic system of today's world, the people are more stupefied than the Stone Age.

A German magazine has advised that the modern boys and girls, under the guise of freedom or following each other's steps, do not give any importance to the versions of their parents.

These kids have heightened their lustiness to such an extent that, in dances and joy parties, they commit the most dirtiest acts in the presence of their parents.

Basically sanctity, self-respect, shame, dignity, and chastity do not have any meaning anymore in today's life of these youths, especially the women.

And, repeatedly, the women and girls appear naked and shameless in the sea side areas and beaches in Sweden or the posh areas of South France and even in the balconies of the buildings in the cities.

Though these women are detained and punished by the police, it does not have any effect whatsoever on the women.

The women's acts of violating the chastity permits increasingly as each day passes and the number of these self-selling kind of women keep multiplying.

The statistics show that 30,000 (women) prostitutes are found in the New York City alone and there are more than 100,000 lesbians and homosexuals.

In West Germany, France, England, and the United States, the number of these types of women and men are ever more.

This sexual anarchy is a danger that threatens the democratic and the so-called civilized countries and the dirtiness and humiliation also adds to the alarming number of pregnant girls.

Their own writers have begun to acknowledge that the women's role and character are being buried down the top towards nonentity in Jet Age.

Therefore, the Women's Day, in the foreigners' book, means the day of profit and exploitation for the capitalists from the day the manufactured dolls were placed in their hands.

But in our logic Woman's Day was the Day when the woman was recognized and was given human rights. Once, fourteen centuries ago, a verse called "woman", was entered into Quran and it was named as "Nisa".

To restore and introduce women's rightful place and recognition of her due and just rights in society, Islam stresses that in principle woman is entitled to her rights in the society.

That woman plays a role in politics and economy, shoulders responsibility towards family members, possesses a place in the culture and has a duty to be fulfilled in a Godly life and society.

In Islam woman is "um". Um always precedes the name of each woman. No woman's name was mentioned without an Um. Um means the basis or foundation of God.

God called Moses as Um ulquraba, the Holy Book Quran as Um ulkitab, and the Prophet as Rasi Ummi. And called woman as um.

Even though the scholars, philosophers, sociologists and psychologists said and wrote much more and provided many opinions on women, none of them succeeded to even recognize and express woman and her personality.

Therefore, never was the personality of woman shared and structured nor her rights and just demands fulfilled.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS NOTED IN VARIOUS FIELDS

No Shortage of Electricity

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Apr 81 p 2

[Interview with Mohammed Esmail Kerachian, managing director of TAVANIR, by PARS date and place not given]

[Text] Tehran (PARS)--Engineer Mohammed Esmail Kerachian, the managing director of Tavanir Company, in an exclusive interview with PARS explained the general situation of production and distribution of electricity in the country.

Focussing on the production and distribution of power in the country, PARS quoted Kerachian as saying that "at present we have no shortfalls in electricity generation but since the projects which were designed in the previous regime did not foresee the increase in consumption, hence after the revolution, steps were taken to remove the shortage in the country".

"At the moment, on the one hand, the issue of electricity distribution is facing problems and on the other hand, due to being obsolete, some of the power stations are encountering difficulties but we have been able to remedy some of these bottle-necks", said Kerachian.

He added "Bandar Abbas' 320 KV power station and the 320 KV station in Isfahan and the transmission line on the Arak-Tehran route with a capacity of 400 KV have been established by the Tavanir Company."

Considering the due summer, and forebearing the rise in the electricity consumption, the managing director declared that "with our calculation, cooperation from our dear citizens and particularly if consumption is made in a proper manner, possibilities of power shortages culminating in long-period power cuts, will be minimized in the current year."

Then the managing director focussed on the issue of the level of power generation throughout the country by the thermal and gas-fired stations. He said "at the moment, the overall country-wise power generation can, if properly run, reach 7,000 MW. According to international standard, 70 percent of the total generated electricity is fed for the electricity facilities while the rest is used in the

repairing of the power stations. Taking into account the international standard, at present, we are producing 50 to 53 percent of the electricity which we hope to increase by revigorating the old power stations."

Underlining the fuel used in power stations, Karachian said that "half of the power stations are gas-fired and the rest by fuel such as diesel and Mazut, while some of the plants can use gas and fuel, as that of the Mashad plant."

Issuance of Sugar Coupons

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Apr 81 p 2

[Text] Tehran (PARS)--The Economic Mobilization Center announced the price of sugar and cubes for the month of Ordibehesht, the Persian daily JOMHOURI-E-ISLAMI said yesterday.

The center said that those who are issued with single person coupon are to pay rials 33, two persons, rials 66 and three, rials 99.

The announcement added that interested parties can contact the officials of the Distribution and Sales Center to collect the coupons for the month of Ordibehesht.

It further added that those having the series 'A' coupons issued for the previous phase have until the end of Farvardin to collect their ration of sugar and cubes.

The announcement called on the citizens to inform the Economic Mobilization Center any malpractice or cheating in the use of the coupons. It added that the Center will confiscate the coupons if found a part of profiteering.

Appliance Production Figures

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 12 Apr 81 p 2

[Report on Interview with Jamshid Kamangar, head of Arj Industrial Complex]

[Text] Tehran (PARS)--Jamshid Kamangar, the managing director of the Arj Industrial complex in an interview with PARS said yesterday that beginning of Esfand 1359 till the end of Mordad 1360, the complex will be producing a total of 130,000 units of coolers.

Pointing out the annual output of the industrial complex, Kamangar said, a total of 150,000 units of Kerosene heaters, 21,000 washing machines, 131,570 refrigerators and 500 units of water heaters are manufactured.

Kamangar, outlining the difficulties faced by Arj said during the year 1358, the total output of the complex was at the highest level since the establishment but in 1359 the production declined substantially owing to the imposition of economic sanctions.

He added that the total annual income of the complex is approximately rials 8,500,000,000 and if available resources in the factory are tapped properly the annual sales could reach rials 11 billion.

Steel Output Figures

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 15 Apr 81 p 1

[Report on interview with Mahmud Ahmadzadeh Heravi, head of Steel Mill Company]

[Text] Tehran (PARS)--The total production of the steel mill complexes of Ahvaz, and Mobarakabad of Isfahan will reach 7 million tons annually by the completion of the complexes, the head of the steel mill company, Mahmud Ahmadzadeh Heravi, announced yesterday.

He added that presently 550 steel ingots are being annually produced in the country hoping that the mineral problems would be solved during the second half of the current year and the kiln furnaces be expanded so that the total production of steel ingots would total 1.9 million tons.

Referring to the Isfahan steel mill, Ahmadzadeh said that the factory is supposed to have a production of 550,000 tons of iron each year and that its long furnace should be repaired once every seven years.

However, he added that it has been about nine years since it has been repaired and its production remained at an ordinary level.

Speaking about the supply of the spare items needed by the steel mill, Ahmadzadeh said that these items would be imported from the Soviet Union and in some instances, shortages will be met through international tenders.

Ahmadzadeh also said that the contract signed during the past regime with India for providing iron, ore, should undergo some changes in its text. Unless these changes were done, he added, the contract would not be implementable or acceptable to us.

CSO: 4920/326

MINISTRY OF ENERGY CONTINUES DETAILED PROGRESS REPORT

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 18-20 Apr 81

[18 Apr 81 p 2]

[Text]

The last phase construction works on dam and canal which stopped during the revolution, have been resumed and it is hoped the dam will be soon ready for operation. The dam with a height of 105 m and capacity of 960 million m³ of water. 753 million m³ of water will be used for agriculture and 178 million m³ for drinking water for Tehran.

- Construction and installation work on the Kohrang project in the Isfahan province in progress. The project promises facilitation for irrigation and drinking water.

- Construction work in progress while feasibility studies have been completed on the Kohrang project to meet water needs of Yazd and Behabad.

- Evaluation of tapping operations and development of natural water outlets in the Dasht-e Gorgan region.

- Continuation of activities, in relation to construction of Jiroft's dam, irrigation layouts, digging and equipping of 41 wells operating in Dasht-e Jiroft.

- Work in progress on Turugh-Karkeh and Farsi-Masjed dam.

- Completion of evaluation studies and provision of the needed reports, relating to 3 small dams in Neushapur, Torbat-e-Jam, Torbat-e-Masjed and Fariman region in the Khorasan province.

- Investigation studies in progress for the second phase of Khodafarin's reservoir and Qorghaleh's dam on the Aras river in East Azerbaijan province.

- Evaluation studies to increase the capacity of Dourdan lake on the Koro-Farsi river basin.

- Completion of the construction of artificial wells in Sistan to store rain water.

- Studying and preliminary work on the Fahn and Behabad's dams and the related installations.

- Continuation of construction activities of Minab's dam. (30 million m³ of drinking water for city and 270 million m³ for irrigation).

- Continuation of studies on the hydro-electric dams of number 2 and 3 on Karun river, to obtain water and approximately 200 to 300 mw electricity.

2- Irrigation lay outs and water supply lines:

- Continuation of construction activities of Varamin's and Garmsar's irrigation project, comprising 71 km of the main canal, 251 km of first and second degree canals, 82 km of third and fourth degree canals, construction of a 220 km of diverting canal in Keshid-Gonabad, 120 km of diverting dam on Hable river in Garmsar digging and equipping of 110 of wells, establishment of artificial nourishment installations and the operations, relating to reduce water salinity.

- Construction of irrigation projects and water supply of Dasht-e Qazvin, including first and second degree canals with a length of 135 km and third and fourth degree canals with the length of 470 km, establishment of connecting canal of 150 wells to the irrigation project and also digging of 50 wells to be used for agriculture.

- Continuation of operations of irrigation project for Zayandeh river in Isfahan, including two diverting canals and four main canals, secondary canals and drainage, a total length of 637 km.

- Continuation of operations, relating to irrigation construction project of Sefid river and Foulad-e-Gilan.

- Evaluation studies for establishment of irrigation canals, pipelaying of Gorgan's dam, digging and equipping of wells on the irrigation canals of the dam.

- Studying and operating, relating to irrigation layouts' construction project of Lar in Mazandaran.

- Work, relating to the construction of irrigation and drainage network in Sarakhs, in progress.

- Work relating to Shiraz's water supply project from the Duroudkan dam in progress and completion of 125 km pipe-laying.

- Construction works in progress, relating to irrigation and drainage network of Duroudkan's and Karbel's dam, for a total area of 71,000 hectares of Bamard, Marvdasht, Abarkuh and Karbel-e Farsi lands.

- The evaluation studies in process for the first stage of irrigation and drainage network (second phase) in Dasht-e-Moghan in Azerbaijan for a total of 46,000 hectares of lands.

- The evaluation studies for the second stage of irrigation and drainage network (phase 3 and 4) of Zarrineh river region in Azerbaijan.

- The evaluation studies in process, relating to water supply project from the Kheirabad river in Bushahr.

- The evaluation of first and second stages of irrigation and drainage network (third and fourth degree) and levelling of 18,200 hectares of land of Dasht-e-Moghan.

- Completion of construction works, relating to irrigation and drainage network in Minakang.

- Work in progress, for the construction of the main and second degree canals and the embankment of drains for Sistan's down water.

- Completion of construction of irrigation and drainage network in Bampoor.

network in Hamadan.

- The second stage evaluation studies of irrigation and drainage (third and fourth degree) of Haman's river delta.
- Construction works in progress, relating to the irrigation and drainage facilities for approximately 14,000 hectares of land in Minab, comprising 150 km of the main canal 1.20 km of drainage canal.
- Water supply line project, from Minab to Bandar Abbas, measuring approximately 89 km in progress.
- Construction work on Karoon river's irrigation network in progress and the evaluation studies being carried out for the second stage of Ahvaz's and Khorramshahr's irrigation and drainage network.

3 - Project of cities' drinking water and sewage:

- Digging of wells and construction of reservoirs and development of Karah's pipelaying.
- Establishment of laboratory and purification plant and development of Hamadan's pipelaying network.

[19 Apr 81 p 2]

[Text]

- Digging and equipping of 20 wells and provision of reservoirs and completion of 30 km pipelaying network in Qom.
- Provision of pipes and construction of reservoir and establishment of pump station for Saveh's drinking water facility.
- Installations and development of Arak and Kashan's drinking water facility.
- Completion of construction works, relating to Hamadan and Kabotarsheh's drinking water needs and digging and equipping of 11 wells.
- Construction of 1060m Yakhchiabad's canal and laying of sewage network in the regions of Qom, Qazvin and Zargand in the capital and establishment of two make-shift purification plants for sewage and digging of Firozabad's drainage canal and near-end evaluation studies of first and second stages of Tehran city's sewage.
- Evaluation studies in progress and the supervision of water supply plan, relating to drinking water in Langrud, Ahvaz, Nowr, Alandeh, Izdeh, Saqqalayeh, Pul-e-Sefid, Babul and Rodar.
- Evaluation studies of the second stage, relating to drinking water supply plan for the cities of Kerman, Sirjan, Rafsanjan and Zaranj.
- Completion of evaluation studies of second stage, relating to the development of Sahzevan's drinking water facility.
- Construction works in progress, relating to pipelaying and water supply network for the cities of Bafq, Kishmar, Gonabad and water supply plan of Mashad from Emamsh.
- Construction works in progress and evaluation studies, relating to water supply plan and development of water distribution network in the provinces of Fars and Bushahr, including Lar, Farashband, Khonj, Kordah, Firozabad, Darab, Nuriz, Abarkuh, Boashahr, Buzajan, Rig and Gomveh.
- Completion of evaluation studies for drinking water supply plan of Ardekan in Yazd province.
- Evaluation of drinking water supply plans in the province of Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad and in the regions of Samrum, Jovin and Eslaryen.
- Evaluation of drinking water plan in the western cities, including Sanandaj, Kermanshah, Ilam, Mehriz, Dehloran, Broyerd, Doroud and Khorramabad.
- Evaluation of drinking water supply plan for cities of Zahedan and Zabol and reconstruction of Zahedan's purification plant.

- Study and consideration of sewage system for Minab, Bafq, cities and Qeshm island and military colony of Emamsh.
- Drinking water supply plan of Khush and Saravan cities.
- Construction works of Minab and Bandarabbas' purification plant for drinking water, measuring more than 30 million m³ per year.
- Plans about for drinking water supply project in Hajiabad, Bush and Khomein ports, Langah and Qeshm islands and Hormaz (by digging of wells) of installing of water tanks.
- Evaluation studies in progress, relating to water supply plan in Bandar-e-Khomeini and water supply plan of petrochemical complex and air force base of Omidiyeh.
- Drinking water supply plan for the cities and the villages of Dast-e-Azadgan, in progress.

Evaluation studies, reconstructions and artificial watering plans.

- Completion of underground water surface plan in south of Tehran, comprising digging of drainage wells and revival of springs that in the framework of the plan, needed water for the green atmosphere and parks of Tehran will be obtained.
- Completion of construction works of water tapping plan and prevention of advancement of salty water of Dast-e-Nar in the year of 1355.
- Evaluation studies in progress, relating to Jahrum's artificial watering plan.
- Evaluation studies in progress, relating to the rivers of Qorqomaq, Shirdipir, Fathian, Shapur, Daffi of Fars and Bushahr provinces.
- Exploitation studies for underground water resources, comprising non-detailed studies in eight regions, detailed, development and operational studies in seven regions. Evaluation studies, relating to seven wet-calcareous regions, and underground water chains in 95 plains, collection of basic information to control the quantitative and qualitative reservation of underground water in the framework of this project, construction works and discoveries have been achieved, including geological, pumping, digging of 2740m of reconnaissance wells.
- Feasibility studies of soil and water resources in the region of Saravan and the provision of a master plan in Zahedan and its west region and the valley of Laviz.
- The second stage of feasibility studies of water and soil resources in Jazmurian and Taftan regions.

- The first stage of evaluation studies of the basins of the Nahr, Fozay, Kark and Kakhiz-Jomah shaght rivers.
- Completion of evaluation studies of basins of Karkheh river to control waters and obtain needed water and energy.

Implemented plans through Sabryer company:

The Sabryer company, related to the ministry as the contractor of development projects has 22 construction and installations work shops in six different provinces that are as follows:

- Establishment of irrigation and drainage network in the left coast of Nekosabad in Isfahan.
- Establishment of main and lateral canals, dike and drainage network of Isfahan's waterfall.
- Establishment of purification, water resources, storages and building and yard making from the main water supply plan of Bandar-e Khomeini in Khorasan province.
- Concrete sheets for irrigation network underneath the Duranian dam, establishment of connecting roads and technical storages and erection of bridge in Shiraz.

[20 Apr 81 p 2]

[Text]

- Water supply plan in the township of Sanandaj.
- Establishment of reservoir in Qashlagh, water transmission, establishment of diverting-concrete dam, purification plant and establishment of two 10,000 m³ concrete reservoirs.
- Construction of connecting roads to the dams of Turugh, Kerdah in Mashhad.
- Establishment of Turugh and Kerdah's dams in Mashhad (with the cooperation of French company).
- Establishment of housing complex of Neka's employees in Mazandaran.
- Deep well drillings throughout the country.

The most significant achievements of the Power Ministry in energy and nuclear energy affairs:

The Nuclear Energy Organization of Iran had been formed on the worst basis similar to the other organs. Executions of exploiting contracts and staggering financial commitments had caused the expenditures, relating to the nuclear stations to exceed up to the amount of rials 860 billion during the subsequent 15 years. Obtaining such a budget was even impossible during the past regime, even though release from those contracts was vital.

After victory of the revolution, multi-dimensional considerations were subjected to the contracts, regarding their feasibility, during the year of 1358 and with the attention to technical, economic, executional and political situations in the country, consequently the policy of producing electricity by nuclear stations was rejected through the ministry. And the issue of closure of Bushehr and Abadan's nuclear stations and nullification of lateral contracts in the energy council's sessions were discussed and the bills, relating to the relevant issues were ratified by the provisional government and the Revolutionary Council of Islamic Republic of Iran.

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, it was vital to review essentially the goal and the policy of the Nuclear Energy Organization of Iran to determine the kind of activities of the organization. According to the adopted measures by the ministry, it was noted that not only Islamic Republic of Iran should not ignore benefits of nuclear stations in the field of electricity production, but also should pay attention

to its applications in technical, economic, political and security affairs. In the wake of endeavours and experiments, achieved by the previous programs, it was clarified that benefits from nuclear energy do not conflict with the goal of achieving self-sufficiency, considering the political and economical independence of the country. In the goal of the organization was put on the framework of recognition of nuclear energy applications in the field of industries, agriculture and medicine, discovery and exploitation of radioactive materials and meticulous supervision of environmental security.

At present, the essential activities in the framework of duties, existing in the organization are considered as follows:

1- Nuclear Research Center:

Taking into consideration the significance of researches in achieving the goal of self-sufficiency, revolutionary decisions, cultural and economical independence which is well-sentiment in the constitution, essential changes have been subjected to the 14 years period activities of Nuclear Research Center of Nuclear Energy Organization, while the form of the Center which consisted 17 divisions and sub-divisions, including parasitic bureaucracy, was reduced to only three divisions of physical, chemical and engineering works.

Considering the speciality of personnel and the facilities, existing in the center, including the accelerating reactor, furnaces, various analysers and the other laboratory facilities, long-term plans in the fields of recognition development and applications of nuclear techniques and sciences have been formed.

In connection with the programming, manner of plans, implementations are executed in a form of time-scaled researches which have been confirmed through the Research Council of the center and another two experts out of the center. By the end of the first three months of last year a total of 33 projects were approved and put in operation through the Research Council and another 12 projects are under considerations.

In addition to the said activities, revolutionary-short-term plans have been done in order to revoke Iranian interested bodies in the turbulent year of 1358 and during the year of 1359.

IRAQI-MAURITANIAN COMMITTEE DISCUSSES AREAS OF COOPERATION

Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 11 Feb 81 pp 2,7

[Text] In the reception room of the Ministry of Housing and Construction yesterday the first round of meetings of the Joint Iraqi-Mauritanian Committee began. They are to run for 3 days. The Iraqi team was chaired by Mr Muhammad Fadil Husayn, minister of housing and construction, while the Mauritanian group was chaired by Dr Louleïd Ould Waddad, minister of hydrology and the habitat.

At the welcoming reception for the delegation the minister expressed his pleasure for the meeting which coincided with the victories that our fighting country has achieved over the racist Iranians. He said: "Saddam Husayn's own battle of Qadasiya in Iraq which triumphed over the racist Persians has prompted Iraq to deepen the spirit of victory and to increase the processes of development in all areas. He portrayed the hostile attitudes of the Persian regime, its provocations and its ambitions for Arab territory. He outlined what resulted from the colonialist powers becoming angered over the increased progress in the country's growth. Dr Wadada assessed the pan-Arab position of the Iraqi state towards its brothers and assistance Iraq has given them to raise the methods of construction and growth.

Discussion of a number of issues related to bilateral cooperation began afterwards, especially on matters related to Iraq's training of Mauritanian geologists and cooperation to complete geological research laboratories. They discussed the benefits of applying Iraqi know-how in the fields of statistics, teaching, medicine, and the willingness of the Iraqis to train Mauritanian workers in the areas of transportation, communications and agriculture. Likewise during the meeting discussions were completed on the progress of work on projects Iraq is performing in Mauritania as well as service projects which include the setting up of a number of hospitals and health centers, schools, and water projects.

In addition to this three subcommittees that will continue discussion of the committee's agenda resulted from the meeting. The first of these will examine economic and commercial affairs, the second will study artistic and cultural cooperation, and the third will examine matters related to the projects.

The Iraqi side of the committee included Mr 'Abd al-Qadir 'Izz al-Din, deputy minister of education for technical matters, and representatives from the Committee for Economic Relations with Arab States, the ministries of Planning, Information, Agriculture and Agrarian Reform, Industry, Mining, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Trade, Health, and the Iraqi Fund for Foreign Development, and the Iraqi Central Bank.

SYRIAN STUDENT LEAGUE ATTACKS SYRIAN REGIME

Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 11 Feb 81 p 8

[Text] The Syrian Student League in Iraq implored progressive forces in the world to intervene to stop the wholesale slaughter and acts of torture practiced by the Hafiz Asad regime. It exposed the guilt of the criminals who commit these acts against the rights of our Arab people in Syria. In a report it made about the opposition of the struggling masses to the reactionary collapsed regime the league affirmed that the Syrian people in their heroic struggle could not forget the forces and parties that have tried to understand their cause and support them against outrage and absolute rule. Neither can they forget the forces that are trying to defame their struggle and make alliances with their enemies, as well as giving feeble justifications and various cover-ups for a regime that has lost all contact with its people, its nation, and its principles.

The report reviewed the treacherous positions and conspiratorial policy that the Asad regime has pursued on both the national and pan-Arab planes beginning with its illegal seizure of power to its spreading of factional tendency, assuming the shameful defeat of the war of provocation, allying with the traitor Sadat, and ending with its conspiratorial and cowardly stances toward the Iraq of Arabism and revolution.

The league affirmed that the Iraq-Iran war has managed to cast even more light on the conspiracy of this regime and the falseness of the sentiments of which it boasts. Throughout the entire period just passed Syria has wagered on the ability of its racist Persian allies to deflect Iraq's activities and to hamper its revolutionary course and to affect the national, fundamental direction of the revolutionary Iraqi leadership. The league made it clear that the regime of Hafiz Azad tried to delude the Mollas of Iran by saying that Iraq was a weak target and an easily-swallowed morsel--encouraging this band either directly or indirectly to vent its hostility on Iraq. Nevertheless Arab honor in Ba'thist Iraq arose in defense of the values, pride and steadfastness in Arab history. The agent regime was forced to admit in both word and deed that it has allied itself with a foreign aggressor in scorn of the feelings of our Arab people in general and of our Syrian people specifically who still recall the stance of the sons of Iraq in their defense of Arab land in Palestine, Golan, Sinai and everywhere.

The league also affirmed that the Iraqi sword that splits the heads of error, deception and racist antagonism against the Arabs and which has cut deeply into Iran has deprived the Syrian regime of peace of mind and has enhanced the process of awakening the masses that Arab Syria has witnessed. It has given new meanings to the struggle that our people have courageously embarked upon to bring down the bloody regime. The league said in its report that our people really do see in al-Mahammara our own Qunaytira and in the hills of Arabistan our own Golan and Palestine. They are more insistent today than ever on continuing their journey toward the overthrow of the regime and the restoration of Syria's original pan-Arab role.

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CSO: 4802/465

RAMADAN ADDRESSES NEW CONTINGENT OF KURDISH TROOPS

Baghdad AL-'IRAQ in Arabic 10 Feb 81 p 4

[Excerpt] Yesterday morning Comrade Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and Supreme Commander of the People's Army bid farewell to the new contingent of soldiers of the People's Army from the self-rule zone--soldiers that are headed for the war fronts to participate in the glorious noble battle against the racist Persian enemy. The Comrade Supreme Commander during a farewell speech that he gave to the soldiers affirmed that the participation of the soldiers of the People's Army from the self-rule zone in the struggle against the tyrannical Persian enemy was an outstanding model for the unity of the internal front and it strengthened its effective role in upholding our march to victory which daily advances more deeply. He said: The contingent of the People's Army from the self-rule zone expresses in no uncertain terms the willingness of the people of diverse families and nationalities to defend the homeland and to fight for the unity of the people. This indicates that the Iraqi people persevere every day in giving the added measure of heroism required of them. He added: The sons of our people in the self-rule zone have continuously been dedicated to participation in the glorious and noble battle which we have plunged into against the Persian enemy and to bringing to fruition, in various forms, unity of the popular will.

The Comrade Supreme Commander said that our people in the self-rule zone today are performing the necessary role supporting the march of victory and the defeat of the enemy whom our nation confronts. This role constitutes an enlargement of the huge, outstanding role that the nation has assumed by its resistance to the futile attempts at destruction made by the enemies of the people and the nation as well as by foreign agents who are seeking to turn the achievements of the revolution and its historical leadership away from their nationalist, pan-Arab duty. He affirmed that the participation of the soldiers from both the Kurdistan Democratic Party and the Kurdistan Revolutionary Party alongside soldiers of the fraternal Arab regions of the country has effectively answered all attempts aimed at undermining our people's unity, their national forces and progressive nationalism. It is an enlightening example that embodies the zeal of our people to fortify and preserve the spirit of victory.

Mr Hashim Hasan 'Aqraw, first secretary of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, attended the farewell ceremony, along with 'Abd al-Sattar, first secretary of

the Kurdistan Revolutionary Party and member of the Supreme Council of the Progressive, Nationalist, Pan-Arab Front, and a number of members of the political offices of both parties. Also attending were: the commanding general of the Supreme Chiefs of Staff of the People's Army, the adjutant commander of the Baghdad (military) district, the chiefs of the sectors in Baghdad and the Self-Rule Zone, and senior officials in the Supreme Command of the People's Army.

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CSO: 4802/465

SA'IQAH SAYS FIGHTERS WILL CONTINUE TO ATTACK ENEMY ACROSS JORDAN

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 15 Mar 81 p 1

[Article: "After Resisting the 'Democratic Front' Fighters, Husayn Continues to Guard the Border of the Enemy and His Forces Resist Sa'Iqah Fighters"]

[Text] The Organization of the Peoples Vanguard of the War of Liberation, the "Sa'Iqah forces," issued a statement in Damascus yesterday which said that one of the organization's groups mobilized to carry out a combat mission inside occupied Palestine and met with heavy gunfire from Jordanian Army positions while in the process of crossing the Jordan River. This fire, which was delivered without prior warning, forced them to defend themselves and respond to the sources of the fire.

The statement said: "During the clash, the members of the group wished to carry out the leadership's instructions not to oppose the forces of the Jordanian Army or come into contact with Jordanian troops, who are forced to accept positions hostile to the Palestinian revolution by the Jordanian regime. Our revolutionaries were captured after a battle which lasted some 3 hours."

The statement asserted: "This action on the part of the Jordanian regime is aimed at destroying the Palestinian revolution and preventing the movement of its revolutionaries in Jordanian territory in service to the enemies of our cause and our nation. However, our Arab army in Jordan will not accept the continuation of this conspiratorial agent role. We are confident that a rebellion of the masses and their Arab army is coming soon, and when it occurs the masses will call all the symbols of treason and protectors of Israel to account."

The statement also said: "The revolutionaries will continue to exercise their right and the right of the Palestinian revolution to resist and oppose the aims of the enemy from the Jordanian front and all the Jordanian regime, which are in harmony and concord with the role and action of all the agents of Israel and imperialism in our Arab region, including the likes of the agent Sa'd Haddad and the symbols of agent Arab reactionism."

The statement called on all Arab activists, all nationalist and progressive Arab forces, and the masses of Jordan to exercise their natural right in solidarity with the Palestine revolutionaries both inside and outside Palestine. The internal forces of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine announced in an earlier statement that on 12 March 1981 the forces of the Jordanian regime opened

heavy fire on one of the front's patrols which was attempting to cross the river en route to the occupied homeland. In this incident, the commander of the group was critically wounded and was taken prisoner by the forces of the Jordanian regime. The other members of the patrol were able to return to their base.

The front charged the Jordanian regime with the responsibility for this action, which served only the Zionist enemy.

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CSO: 4802/582

LEBANON

FRANJIYAH OFFERS SOLUTION FOR LEBANON'S PROBLEMS

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 25 Feb 81 p 3

[Article: "Franjiyah Announces a Political Document Affirming Lebanon's Unity and Arabism and Rejecting Partition and Dealings With Israel"]

[Text] Sulayman Franjiyah presented a "political document" during a press conference held yesterday at his Zagharta residence, and expressed his hopes that it would meet with the approval of the parties which would be participating in the "broad national front," and his wish that "every patriot wanting to amend any of the clauses would present his modification before the end of March, i.e. prior to the restricted meeting among the front's members which will discuss the document and its modifications."

Franjiyah described the document as a plan based on the 1943 formula, and on the constitutional document declared on 14 February 1976.

The document's clauses call for the unity of Lebanon within its present, internationally recognized borders; the extension of the legitimate authorities' control over all Lebanese territory; the elimination of all illegal ministrates; the closing of illegal ports; the dissolution of the armed militias; the mobilization of Lebanese, Arab and international resources to protect the south from Israeli attacks and aspirations; reaction to the plot and its Lebanese tools aimed at partition, annexation and migration; the rejection of all forms of direct or indirect partition such as a federation or a confederation; the preservation of Lebanon as a free, sovereign, independent Arab country; Palestinian adherence to implementing and respecting the Cairo Agreement and all its addenda; adherence to the policy of Arab solidarity and the struggle to regain Jerusalem; the establishment of a Palestinian state on Palestine's national soil; rejection of the Camp David resolutions; support for the Palestinian cause; the maintenance of the excellent Lebanese-Syrian relations; implementation of the resolutions of Arab conference pertaining to Lebanon, especially the resolutions of the Beiteddin conference; and denunciation of all dealings with Israel.

The document stresses the desire for the establishment of a unified central political system with broad administrative decentralization; the distribution of parliamentary seats equally among Christians and Moslems; formulation of a clause establishing a supreme council to try presidents and ministers; the issuance of all decrees and bills with full agreement between the republican president and the prime minister and bearing both their signatures, except for decrees appointing a prime minister

and accepting ministers' resignations; the prime minister's enjoyment of all the powers which he ordinarily practices; the election of the prime minister by a relative majority of the parliament; the elimination of sectarianism in employment; equality of employment in Grade One; the establishment of a supreme economic-social council; implementation of the flag service law; and abolition of sectarianism in the army.

Franjiyah presented the document with the statement, "The Lebanese crisis has gone on for so long that every Lebanese wants to be delivered from the situation he is living through. Along with this misfortune, the national authorities have no unity of rank; luckily, Rashid Karami's activity in recent weeks has brought these authorities together. Everyone is agreed on a single goal, but each one wants to achieve this goal by a different path. Today, we fully intend to propose a path which we can all follow. If it meets with the approval of these national authorities, our ranks will become unified and we will proceed along a single path. Our ranks must be unified, and this is our hope. Once they are unified, arrival at our goal will be 100 percent guaranteed, whatever the circumstances. At that very time, we will have done our duty and delivered Lebanon from the ordeal it has been experiencing."

Franjiyah said, "I hope that every patriot, when suggesting an amendment to this document, will do so before the end of March. This is my wish, for I am one of the persons who will accept each alteration and amendment and any new proposal added by any national authority. I shall discuss it with the originator of the proposal, and if it is in the country's interest, I shall adopt it without any reservations."

With respect to setting the end of March as the final date for accepting amendments, he said, "The idea is that we will be holding a small meeting after that, at which we will study the document and the proposed amendments. Everything which we adopt at the meeting will be practical, and we will operate according to it and will strive to implement it. This is my introduction to this document."

The Text of the Document

My Lebanese brothers, as long as we are living in a free, democratic system, it is your right to take part in every step that will bring us closer to solving the crises and overcoming all the dangers which today threaten the people, entity and destiny of our homeland, Lebanon. It is our duty to tell you frankly that today our beloved country, after difficult years which have exhausted its abilities and strength, is passing through the most serious circumstances known in its modern history, since its very being is subject to disintegration, its culture to partition, and its diverse groups and sects to discrimination and dispersal. Today Lebanon is still exposed to the American-Zionist plot which has been aimed at its people, entity and organizations for more than 5 years, and which you have stood up to with the defiance of heroes seeking to regain their nation, heritage, lives and honor.

My Lebanese brothers, in the face of these dangers which are still besetting Lebanon; the government's hesitation and its passing up of many golden opportunities; the tendency towards establishing illegitimate ministates, sometimes with government collusion; the spread of fear and terror; the destruction of moral and human values through Israeli plotting; Israel's efforts to achieve its goal of demolishing Lebanon and carrying out its partition and annexation plot against it, in which it seeks the guidance of Israeli information in order to spread deceptions, racist feelings and

hateful sectarianism; in the face of the ministate leaders' insistence on perpetuating the deterioration of the general situation, exploiting the state's weakness in order to exploit the citizens, as is happening today, and opposing the establishment of a strong state in order to maintain their illgotten gains, afraid of returning to their real size; in the face of the extremely dangerous fragmentation into little groups, thus proving the truth of the old adage "woe to the nation where every tribe is a nation;" and out of our desire to take part in every undertaking to save the nation for which we have made such sacrifices, to provide security, and protect the lives, honor and property of the citizens, who have suffered enough tragedy, ruin and destruction--we have decided to present a proposal for a comprehensive political solution which, along with other plans, will be the cornerstones on which our national accord can be built and towards which our national progress can direct itself. We declare that what we are proposing today is amenable to any amendment which might be proposed which might be a better foundation for the nation and the citizens.

This plan of ours basically rests on the formula for national harmony which resulted from the 1943 charter, which was a pillar providing us with independence, stability, a unique formula for coexistence, and a patriotism which made the world envy us for more than 35 years. This plan of ours also rests on the constitutional document declared on 14 February 1976, which at the time met with the approval of all Lebanese parties, as well as some amendments necessitated by the course of events and the changes in the given factors which accompanied the formulation of the constitutional document.

My Lebanese brothers, no matter what the circumstances, we feel that Lebanon must continue to follow the national harmony formula and its free democratic parliamentary system, with some changes being made along the following lines.

First, upholding Lebanon's indivisible unity of entity, people and territory, within its present area and internationally recognized borders. This requires the following:

1. extending the control of the legitimate authorities, through their legitimate means such as the army, the domestic security forces and the peacekeeping forces, over all Lebanese territory;
2. eliminating all illegitimate ministates, dissolving the armed militias whose existence threatens the sole, united legitimate state, as well as the lives, property, honor and freedoms of the innocent citizens;
3. mobilizing all Lebanese, Arab and international resources to protect the south from Israeli dangers, aspirations and attacks, and from its agents along the borders;
4. reacting to the partition, annexation and migration plot and its domestic tools and agents;
5. rejecting all forms of direct or indirect partition such as federalism, confederalism and the like;
6. strengthening contacts with expatriate Lebanese; and
7. committing ourselves to implementing legislation to limit foreign ownership in Lebanon.

Second, maintaining Lebanon as a free, sovereign, independent Arab land and people open to the Arab world of which it is a part, from which it came, and to which it belongs; and dealing with the Arab world's states and peoples on the basis of brotherhood, mutual respect and sovereignty, accompanied by cultural openness to the world. This requires:

1. Lebanon's adherence to the Arab League charter and the other Arab documents which it has signed;
2. the commitment, on the part of the Palestinians in Lebanon, to implementing and respecting the Cairo Agreement and all its addenda;
3. adherence to a policy of Arab solidarity by coordinating Arab resources against the Zionist enemy and struggling for the sake of the victory of Arab national causes;
4. categorical rejection of annexation plans and the Camp David resolutions, and support for the Palestinian cause in order to ensure the Palestinian people's legitimate rights to establish their independent state on their national soil in Palestine, and a struggle to return Jerusalem to Arab control and liberate it from Zionist occupation;
5. avoidance of a policy of forming axes, and openness to all the world's countries on the basis of mutual cooperation and friendship while preserving Lebanon's sacred sovereignty;
6. maintenance of the excellent Syrian-Lebanese relations which ensure better political, economic and security conditions for both Lebanon and Syria; and
7. implementation of the resolutions issued by all conferences held to study the Lebanese problem, with the fraternal help of Syria and any other Arab brothers who want to help.

Third, denouncing all dealings with the Israeli enemy and rejecting all forms of cooperation and dealings with this enemy and its domestic agents, in implementation of Article 7 of the Beiteddin resolutions. This requires the following:

1. Looking upon Israel as an enemy of the nation, whose purpose is to demolish Lebanon and destroy its formula for coexistence, which is antithetical to the formula followed in the racist, sectarian Zionist state; and
2. closing all illegitimate ports, especially those through which some forms of dealing with Israel take place.

Fourth, preserving Lebanon's free parliamentary democratic system, with the following changes:

1. a unified, central political system, based on unified legislative, executive and judicial powers;
2. adding to the present system organizational appendages outlining a broad administrative decentralism;

3. maintaining the existing administrative subdivision;
4. preserving and strengthening freedoms;
5. affirming the existing convention based on the distribution of the three chief powers, each of them being considered representative of all Lebanese;
6. distributing parliamentary seats equally between the two flanks of the nation and proportionately within each flank, and amending the election law in this light, so as to guarantee better representation for the citizens;
7. getting a two-thirds majority in the parliament for passing resolutions on major issues, and a 55-percent majority for the election of the president of the republic, in all sessions after the first;
8. drawing up an article defining the responsibilities of the president of the republic, the prime minister and the ministers, and establishing a supreme council to try presidents and ministers;
9. having the prime minister and the ministers take a constitutional oath of office before the president of the republic, as is done in many countries;
10. issuing all decrees and bills by agreement between the president of the republic and the prime minister, bearing both their signatures, except for decrees appointing the prime minister and accepting ministers' resignations. The prime minister is to enjoy all the powers which he customarily exercises;
11. establishing a supreme constitutional court to review the constitutionality of laws and decrees;
12. drawing up a clause ensuring the prompt issuance of the prime minister's and the president's laws and decrees; and
13. electing the prime minister by a relative parliamentary majority, with the prime minister to then conduct parliamentary consultations and form a government with the agreement of the president and the prime minister, after which decrees will be issued.

Fifth, Lebanon is a strong progressive state which alone has the constitutional, legitimate powers to extend its sovereignty over all Lebanese territory and to enact and implement laws. The freedom of belief and religion, which defines man's relationship with his creator, his neighbor and himself, shall be respected. This calls for the following:

1. eliminating sectarianism in employment, and following the principle of competence, while maintaining equality in Grade One positions, provided that organizations for this group's employees be made no more than 4 years after their employment;
2. establishing a supreme social-economic council;
3. adhering to the system and organization of a free economy;
4. working to achieve universal social justice through fiscal and economic reform;

5. strengthening public education in such a manner as to lead to the universalisation of free education, and developing curricula so as to modernize and standardize them in such a manner as to firmly establish national unity.

Sixth, reinforcing and strengthening the army, which requires the following:

1. drawing up a security and defense plan;
2. appointing capable, courageous leaders for the army;
3. considering the army, the domestic security forces and the Arab deterrent forces a legitimate, indivisible security unit, until such time as our army is rebuilt, becomes capable of assuming its responsibilities, and replaces the Arab deterrent forces;
4. implementing the flag service law and abolishing sectarianism in the army, so as to actually bring the flag service law into effect.

My Lebanese brothers, we believe in these principles and goals, which can be amended in any better way inspired by the general welfare. We will do everything in our power to implement them. In case they are accepted and agreed to by honorable Lebanese, we will implement them with all our spirit, and we will spare no effort or sacrifice to see them actually take effect.

My Lebanese brothers, our hearts are open and our hands reach out to every Lebanese group--except for those dealing with the Israel enemy, until such time as they are truly punished for what they are doing to the people and the country, and until the punishments provided by the laws in force are applied to them.

We call on Lebanese throughout Lebanon, and on all its sects and all its political, social, economic, labor and cultural forces, to unite and rally around these principles and goals, or around any which they feel are better, so as to save, preserve and recreate the country.

The Clauses

The document was accompanied by the following clauses:

1. upholding the democratic, parliamentary, republican system;
2. perpetuating the customary usage only with respect to the three chief powers;
3. abolishing employment sectarianism at all grades except for Grade One;
4. establishing a constitutional court to review the constitutionality of laws and decrees;
5. establishing a supreme council to try presidents and ministers;
6. enacting an election law which will be in keeping with recent developments and which will ensure the equal distribution of parliamentary seats between Moslems and Christians;

7. expanding parliamentary representation by increasing the number of deputies;
8. strengthening the judiciary and consolidating its independence;
9. strengthening official education and standardizing curricula and books;
10. rebuilding the army on a national basis and making it better equipped and larger;
11. limiting the Second Branch's functions to military matters, and channeling its vast jurisdictions into growth and modernization;
12. implementing the flag service law;
13. establishing a council for planning, scheduling and development;
14. amending the citizenship law;
15. establishing an industrial council and strengthening the foundation of national industry;
16. achieving administrative decentralization;
17. affirming the Arabism of Lebanon as part of the Arab world;
18. affirming the principle of equal opportunity regardless of religion, nationality or social class;
19. ensuring all kinds of social security for the nation's various sectors, especially the agricultural sector;
20. affirming the compulsory nature of elementary education, and making all stages of education free;
21. strengthening the Lebanese University and establishing some scientific colleges there;
22. strengthening the provincial branches of the Lebanese University and following up the establishment of various applied colleges there;
23. establishing a greater number of professional schools;
24. establishing a greater number of agricultural schools;
25. ensuring the supply of medicines so as to prevent any playing around with their prices or period of effectiveness, by establishing an administration to provide medicines at cost;
26. reviewing the tax policy and modernizing the way it is imposed and levied;
27. emphasizing concern for deprived areas;
28. placing increased emphasis on housing projects;

29. affirming women's rights in all political, economic, scientific and cultural fields, and stressing the need for their participation in political action;
30. ensuring free medical care by building hospitals and clinics in the various provinces, districts and areas;
31. stressing concern for labor demands and making an effort to absorb unemployment and create new job opportunities;
32. reinforcing the Arab League's role, and strengthening ties with fraternal Arab states to the benefit of all;
33. implementing agreements concluded with the Palestinian resistance, coordinating its activity with the state, and stressing our rejection of annexation;
34. stressing Zionist aspirations towards Lebanon's land and waters in particular, regardless of the presence or absence of the Palestinians, and looking upon Israel as Lebanon's primary enemy;
35. firmly establishing the responsible freedom of the press.

A Discussion With the Press

Afterwards, the journalists asked to discuss the statement and direct some questions about it. Franjiyah, in response to a question about the document's similarity to the slogans of the National Movement, said, "My outlook is restricted to the national authorities, in a broad front or otherwise. After studying this document, they will have the option of agreeing to it or rejecting it, or suggesting changes. We are waiting for any proposal from any Lebanese. At the end of March, we will say, 'This is what has been proposed; let us bring the document all together, including the proposals being studied.'" He added, "I was created at the base, I have lived at the base, and I am still there. My duty is there."

Franjiyah was asked whether he agrees with "Mardah's" solution for dissolving the armed militias, which is similar to that contained in the document. He said, "I am giving my approval in advance, on condition that a promise is made to abolish the remaining militias. I am ready to start work in this direction immediately, if such a promise is made."

He was asked, "How can the legitimate authorities be in control when there is no strong army following orders? Some people say that the Arab deterrent forces are not following the president's orders. What is your comment?" He replied, "In the document, we said that the flag service law has to be implemented. Once it is, we will have an army. Today, the idea of building an army is like the notion of building a palace hanging in mid-air."

To set things right, he added, "With respect to the deterrent forces, to say that they are not following the president's orders is an excuse brought forth by some groups to justify the fact that no orders are being given."

In response to a question about how to resist partition, when there are groups working in this direction, he said, "This can be done once there is a power which does nothing but govern. Once this authority exists, all the groups will return to their normal size."

With respect to strengthening official education, as mentioned in the document, Franjiyah said, "Standardized books and curricula were mentioned in the document. When the private schools improve their curricula, they will be able to carry on in total freedom."

About Rashid Karami's opposition to extending President Ilyas Sarkis' term, Franjiyah said, "We lived through such fabulous talk about extending or renewing in 1963 and 1964, when signs were raised reading, 'Don't leave us while the sea is so rough, Mr President.' All this is drivel. The excuse prevailing today is that there cannot be a parliamentary assembly to elect a president. But if only 50 deputies meet, that would mean that they could elect a new president. In the case of extension or renewal, two-thirds of the parliament must meet, so that the parliament may amend the constitution to provide for this extension or renewal of the president's term. But the reason behind this excuse is a firm fixation in the minds of the citizens that the parliament is still trying to protect itself and 'save face.' To deserve renewal of his term, the president must do heroic deeds. But the president hasn't done anything, heroic or otherwise."

About Robert Franjiyah's meetings in Beirut, he said, "All those meetings took place to unify the Lebanese national ranks. God willing, the ranks will be unified, so that he can have his say and carry it out in the future."

He added, "We are spiritual partners in the broad front and all the national authorities, and I follow their news each day."

About the three chief powers, he said, "So far, government here in Lebanon has been joint, and I hope it will continue to be so. The single government becomes a dictatorship, while government by a group becomes a consultative government, which is the right kind."

With respect to drawing up a security and defense plan for the army, as mentioned in the document, he said, "After the flag service law is implemented, the army must become an army, not just employees drawing wages. If we have security breaches, and if there is an Israeli attack, the army can defend its country, even if it sacrifices itself entirely. We are not talking about or calling for an offensive. But the army must defend its country. Israel has bigger equipment and the most modern American military inventions, but the citizens' courage has demonstrated that the Lebanese are never lacking in courage, but are the bravest people in the world."

About getting Lebanon out of political axes, and the Lebanese stand on the Arab-Israeli struggle, he said, "Inasmuch as Lebanon is committed to all Arab agreements, I am speaking here of non-Arab axes not siding with the Arab countries--except for the excellent relations with fraternal Syria, without which Lebanon cannot continue."

HOUSING, COOPERATIVE BUDGET MEETS WITH PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 24 Feb 81 p 6

[Article: "Housing and Cooperatives Budget Announced--7.384 Million Pounds"]

[Text] The parliamentary finance and budget committee passed the budget for the Housing and Cooperatives Ministry, amounting to 7,384,000 Lebanese pounds--the first part amounting to 5,689,900 pounds and the second part 1,694,400 pounds--without making any changes in it.

This took place at the committee's meeting yesterday morning at Mansur Palace, chaired by Deputy Mikha'il al-Dahir and attended by Deputies Shafiq Badr, Maurice Zuwayn, 'Ali al-'Abdallah, and Salih al-Khayr, in addition to Finance Minister Dr 'Ali al-Khalil, Housing and Cooperatives Minister Dr Salim al-Jahil, Director General of Housing Fu'ad Dhabyan, and Director General of Cooperatives Dr Kamil Qaba'.

At the end of the session, Deputy al-Dahir said, "The committee has studied the budget for the Housing and Cooperatives Ministry, and also went into the matter of housing policy because of its extreme importance, especially since we are in the course of making the final studies of the rent bill to be submitted to the joint committees, because of the connection rents have with the housing crisis in Lebanon."

He added, "The committee members are very much concerned over creating a housing policy on which can be based an ultimate rent law to solve the steadily worsening housing problem. This housing policy must go beyond mere measures and factors such as credits and the like, to become a comprehensive legal framework which will achieve the intended purpose for the sake of which the Housing Ministry was established, especially during these extremely difficult housing circumstances. This legal framework will have a far-reaching effect on housing policy. According to the Housing and Cooperatives Minister's statement, properties will be zoned as either intended for construction or intended for agriculture, so that a tax appropriate to their importance can be imposed on both types of property."

Two Sources for Loans

Deputy al-Dahir went on to say, "As for loans, the Housing Ministry officials have explained the details for granting these loans. Briefly, there are at the present time two sources which can extend credit to persons with limited incomes:

1. the Housing Ministry's independent fund, which gives loans from 50,000 to 76,000 pounds at 3 percent interest to those whose yearly income does not exceed 20,000 pounds. The loans are payable in installments over a 20 year period.

"Those whose yearly income is from 20,000 to 40,000 pounds are entitled to a loan from 76,000 to 104,000 pounds at 4 percent interest, payable in installments over 20 years.

2. The Housing Bank; if one's yearly income exceeds 40,000 pounds, one can benefit from a 200,000 pound maximum loan from the bank at 8 to 10 percent interest, the rate varying with the area of the housing unit being constructed, which varies from 150 to 200 square meters. The loan is payable in installments over 20 years, and the interest rate will be adjusted every 5 years to keep up with the general interest rate."

He added, "As for housing cooperatives, some owners connected with the Housing Ministry can request that some real estate adjoining state property in their areas be zoned residential. At that time, they may set up a cooperative among themselves, and present the ministry a request to register their cooperative and to register one of these properties in the name of their cooperative free of charge. They they can also obtain a loan to build some residential units on this property in their own interest."

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AFTERMATH OF ATTEMPTED COUP EXAMINED

London 8 DAYS in English 18 Apr 81 p 22

[Text]

In the aftermath of last month's attempted coup in Mauritania, the country's prime minister has warned of the threat to its independence posed by 'Moroccan expansionism'. HOWARD SCHISSEL reports.

THE ATTEMPT by pro-Moroccan officers to topple President Khouna Ould Haydalla's regime last month marked a watershed in Mauritanian diplomacy, ending Nouakchott's efforts to maintain balanced relations with both Morocco and Algeria.

After the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Rabat, Mauritanian Prime Minister Ahmed Ould Bnadjara expressed fear that the country's frail independence could be threatened by 'Moroccan expansionism'. King Hassan has warned the Mauritanian government about the consequences of tolerating Polisario guerrilla bases on its territory; he has warned that the Moroccan armed forces could undertake 'hot pursuit' raids into Mauritania against guerrilla concentrations.

To counter what Nouakchott sees as Moroccan animosity, particularly since the August 1979 peace treaty with the Polisario, Mauritania has steadily edged closer to Algeria. Algerian air force military transports have been reported in Nouakchott and Nouadhibou, apparently off-loading sophisticated anti-aircraft and radar equipment. Moreover, 8 Days has learnt that Algerian security officers were also dispatched to the Mauritanian capital as 'advisers'.

The abortive coup in Mauritania has rekindled the diplomatic war between Rabat and Algiers. The Algerian press has

stressed that Moroccan incursions into Mauritania would exacerbate tension in North Africa and possibly lead President Chadli Benjedid's government to send troops in support of Mauritania.

The attempt also accelerated the diplomatic realignment going on in Senegal. Unlike former President Senghor, the new head of state Abdou Diouf is attempting to steer a more neutral course in the Sahara and to put relations with Algeria on a sound footing. During a state visit to Rabat at the end of March, Diouf warned King Hassan that destabilising the Haydalla regime could exacerbate the dangerous tension in the whole region.

Diouf's rise to power also ends Senghor's threat to stir up the black population along the Mauritanian bank of the Senegal River if Nouakchott recognised Polisario's Saharan Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

Pressure will be growing on President Haydalla to join the 26 other African states which have accorded recognition to the SADR. The weeks leading up to this summer's OAU conference in Kenya will certainly see a heated debate within Mauritania's ruling military committee of national salvation between pro-Polisario elements and moderates who wish to avoid alienating Morocco even further.

President Giscard d'Estaing of France and Saddam Hussein of Iraq have expressed renewed support for President Haydalla.

SAUDI ARABIA

SYMPOSIUM OF EXPERTS DISCUSSES STATUS OF SAUDI MEDIA

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 5, 6 Jan 81 p 3

[Serialized article recording the remarks made at a symposium held in the University of Riyadh concerning the Saudi press; date of symposium not given]

[5 Jan 81 p 3]

[Text] Is the Saudi Press Playing Its Role of Informing, Orienting, Guiding and Educating?

When the Press Establishment System Begins Not to Perform Its Role, Then This Means the End of the Effectiveness of the Supervision Committees.

In Its 75 Years of Existence, What Has the Saudi Press Given to Us?

The Press Establishment System Was Originally Created in an Improvised Fashion.

Since the University of Riyadh is aware of the effective and prominent role that the Saudi press plays in the formation and influencing of Saudi public opinion, the university, represented by its cultural committee, undertook to organize a symposium entitled "The Saudi Press: Its Assets and Liabilities." Participating in the symposium were the great scholar of the Arabian Peninsula, Shaykh Hamad al-Jasir; Dr Muhammad 'Abd al-Rahman al-Shamikh, professor in the Faculty of Liberal Arts in the University of Riyadh; Mr Khalid Hamad al-Malik, editor-in-chief of the newspaper AL-JAZIRAH; Mr Hashim 'Abduh Hashim, editor-in-chief of 'UKAZ; and Mr Usamah Ahmad al-Siba'i, lecturer in the faculty of liberal arts in the University of Riyadh and chairman of the symposium.

[Mr al-Siba'i] Honored guests and members of the symposium: Peace be upon you and may you have God's mercy and His blessings. We welcome all of you to this evening function, which has been organized by the University of Riyadh, through its cultural committee. The University of Riyadh has realized what an effective role the press plays in the formation and influencing of public opinion, and it has also been aware of how the press influences the mass of readers. This is why we are holding this symposium tonight. The editorial and technical problems that

beset our press have both a direct and indirect relationship to the press's human workforce. What the press suffers from in this regard directly affects its readers.

What we will try to do is to shed some light on both the positive and negative aspects of our press and discuss the problems that affect the press establishment in terms of their system, workforce and regulations. Is the press performing its role or basic function of informing, orienting, guiding and educating its readers as well as providing them with entertainment, recreation, etc.? To what degree does our press contribute toward the creation of sound and educated citizens who possess awareness? What is the level of our press in terms of the capabilities of its personnel and its editorial articles, news articles, format and news reports, whether we are dealing with interviews, news reporting or investigative reporting? Do the editors in chief of the newspapers have administrative or editorial authority compatible with the responsibility that they shoulder toward the Ministry of Information or toward the readers themselves?

What barriers prevent the Saudi press from developing? What is the relationship between the press and its readers? What is the relationship, and what degree of coordination is there, between the press and the Department of Communications in the University of Riyadh or the graduates of this department? What are the principal differences between a press run by establishments, which we have today, and a press run by individuals, which we had previously? To what degree can our press be considered local, that is, intimately linked to the cities in which the newspapers are published? What is the relationship of the editors in chief to their editors, and to what degree are they distant and removed from them? Perhaps, by means of this symposium, we will come to know how it is possible to promote and give a boost to our Saudi press. Let us begin our discussion this evening by asking Dr Muhammad al-Shamikh to give us a brief 5-minute historical sketch of the development of our Saudi press, from its very beginnings, and of the course it has taken up till the present day.

[Dr al-Shamikh] Our press is more than 75 years old. It began in the year 1326 A.H. and has had long experience. This long history has entrusted the Saudi press with both a burden and a responsibility. It could be that our Saudi press has had greater experience than any other press in the Arabian Peninsula. I will leave it to those who are in charge of our press to ask themselves what our press has achieved during these 75 years. The press has gone through many changes and developments just as this country has gone through many unusual changes and developments. Our press has developed and changed very rapidly. It is not appropriate to compare our press of former times with our present-day press, unless we assume that time is something that stands still and does not change. I am afraid that our press is not keeping pace with our development. We should bear in mind the fact that our press started 75 years ago, in the year 1326 A.H., when we ask the question: "What has our press accomplished as a result of the long journey which it has undertaken?"

[Shaykh al-Jasir] Gentlemen, you were contemporary with the time when the press was run by individuals, and now we are in an age when the press is being run by establishments. There are those who favor and those who oppose a press run by individuals and there are those who favor and those who oppose a press run by

press establishments. In view of the fact that you are one of the groups of pioneers in intellectual thought in this country, I would like to ask your opinion about our present system of press establishments.

Let me quote two opinions that I read in our press yesterday concerning our newspapers in the modern age. One of them was the opinion of an outstanding poet. Yesterday Dr al-Qusaybi gave an interview to the newspaper AL-JAZIRAH, and I know that all of you have read it. In the interview he said that he considers our newspapers to be third-rate compared with other Arab newspapers. Another opinion that I read yesterday was that of an actor from one of the Western countries. He said that the press in the Western countries is only fit for wrapping sandwiches. This was in an article published by the newspaper AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, the byline being that of one of its editors, Mr Jihad al-Khazin. So this is what they are saying about our present-day newspapers and journalism. As a matter of fact, I do not agree with either Dr al-Qusaybi or with this actor from the West who relegated the press to such a low level. I feel that our press, in terms of quality of format and vigor, has attained a level that is just as high as that of any other press, at least in terms of appearance. As for the question of comparing a press run by individuals to a press run by press establishments, my opinion concerning this is based on my general view of what journalism is. I do not agree that newspapers are just pictures and news items. I feel that journalism, generally speaking, is a means of guiding and educating the public. I feel that newspapers should make all possible efforts to raise the level of life and the intellectual thought of their nation. This is my opinion about what journalism should be. For this reason, I do not feel that our newspapers should be restricted to a certain field. I believe that there should be sports journalism for the world of sports, journalism for women, journalism for children, etc. But such journalism must have an orientation, we should benefit from it, and it should raise our level. Every reader should be able to benefit from the newspaper that he reads. But what we are in need of is something that provides nourishment for our minds.

It is a known fact that the press establishment was originally created in an improvised fashion. This is what I said to Shaykh Jamil (Hujaylan) when he was our minister of information. Our transition from a press run by individuals to a press run by press establishments was not the result of a profound study. It happened because somebody came to see a minister in the government and demanded from him a fee for newspaper advertisements. This minister thought that the amount he demanded was quite large, and he thought it preposterous. He thought: "How can this man who owns a newspaper make such a demand? What right does he have to ask for such a big amount? There ought to be press establishments." For this reason, it was decided that there should be press establishments that would run the press in our country. When they heard that the press in Egypt or some other country came to be run by press establishments, did everyone have the idea that work done by individuals means that a person, especially in the field of journalism, [incomplete sentence as published]. If we want to compare a press run by individuals with a press run by establishments, we find that there is a vast difference in terms of the loftiness of the press and in terms of an attempt to produce a product that will be beneficial to the nation. Now all of us have seen and understood the nature of a press run by press establishments.

[Mr al-Malik] Let us now discuss the question of whether we have journalists who are of a sufficiently high caliber. Also, do we have enough of them? Does the press establishment provide security for the journalists, that is, security that guarantees their future and their jobs? Is there a special work code that applies to journalists as opposed to the members of other professions? Is it possible for editors or journalists to be members of the press establishments?

I believe that whoever reads Saudi newspapers continually and carefully will no doubt be aware of the fact that each of our press establishments has a considerable number of people working in it. When we say "journalists," we are talking about journalists rather than men of letters and intellectuals. These are the men whose daily newspaper reports one reads, these are the ones who pursue the news from one ministry to another, and these are the ones who cover both domestic and foreign events. And I am proud to say, these are the men who currently publish our Saudi newspapers. With the exception of a few of them, they are men who are young. And all Saudi citizens have the right to be proud of the fact that we have journalists who are natives of this country, whatever the criteria we use to evaluate them.

We could have better journalism than what we have. Now let me answer the second point. We need to have guarantees and security to attract as many young Saudis as possible to journalism. What are these guarantees? This is an important question, not only in my opinion but also in the opinion of everyone who works in the field of journalism.

There are many such guarantees. One of the most important of them involves the fact that a journalist wants to be secure against measures that would be taken against him by government leaders or by people in the press establishments. There is nothing wrong with taking measures against him. If it is necessary, there is nothing wrong with taking measures to fire any journalist or even to prohibit him from writing. This is a legitimate right as long as it is in the public interest. But I personally believe that it is unjust to have a journalist find himself on the street, without a job, without a salary and without any guarantees or security. If we want to attract a select and elite group of men to the field of journalism, then we need to provide these journalists with protection and we need to provide them with security and a future. This cannot happen unless we create a special work code for journalists. The question of this work code is now being raised before the Council of Ministers. We would like to know what this work code contains. We also need to create an association or club to provide the atmosphere and occasion for us to get to know journalists and mingle with them. And now for the last point. Is it possible for an editor to be a member of a press establishment? I believe that there is nothing in the system of regulations of the press establishments that prevents editors from being members of the establishments. This is left to the discretion of each press establishment. In the newspaper AL-JAZIRAH there are appointments and raises twice a year, and there are promotions. These are good incentives. Journalists also ask about guarantees and security that they would have after they have worked for a newspaper. Journalists are different from other employees who work for the government. They are subject to making errors and subject to their individual interpretation. Any measure can be taken against a journalist because of his individual interpretation. Consequently, I believe that the greatest guarantee that can be given to a journalist

is that he would be safe after he ceases to work in a press establishment, for whatever reason. But the important thing here is, I believe, that even though an editor might become a member of a press establishment, this is still not a real and true guarantee for him.

[Mr al-Siba'i] Let us now proceed to another question, which we will address to Mr Hashim 'Abduh Hashim. To what extent does a newspaper benefit from its profits? When I ask this question, I am thinking of the newspaper itself and not of the press establishment. Press establishments get their profits from newspapers. Are these profits then used to make improvements in the newspaper or are they used for something else?

[Mr Hashim] We are in a better academic position to call things by their true names. The topic of this symposium is "The Saudi Press: Its Assets and Liabilities." When a listener hears this term used, he thinks of the journalism of our press establishments, and proof of this is that our dialog here has come to revolve around this type of journalism. However, there is a concept or designation that is more comprehensive and specific--"periodicals." In Saudi Arabia there are more than 300 periodicals. These periodicals are usually classified as belonging to three types--commercial, professional, and those published by academic institutions. If we focus here only on the periodicals published by the press establishments, then we will be doing an injustice to the large number of other periodicals that are published in this country. They make a great contribution with their concern for cultural and intellectual activities and by providing a means by which various levels of people can express their opinions--each person expressing his opinion in accordance with the nature of the function he performs. But now we are talking about, in particular, the journalism of our press establishments. Before I answer Mr al-Siba'i's question, I would like to point out that any shortcoming that would perhaps occur to us concerning the journalism of press establishments is, in my opinion, basically attributable to the manner in which these establishments were created. Who are the members of the plenary sessions of the press establishments? Who are the members of the boards of directors? Basically, who are the ones who work in the press establishments? What is their relationship to the work that is assumed to be basically that of providing guidance and orientation? To what degree can we expect them to live up to the level of responsibility on their shoulders? I have brought up many questions, but I believe that the answers are known to, first of all, all those who work in the press establishments and, secondarily, those outside the establishments.

Most of those people who are connected with the press establishments do not fully belong to the field of journalism. The automatic result of the fact that they belong to the field of journalism only in name is that we end up with various levels, some of which are quite high and some of which sometimes are very low.

This is why we have to take another look at the basis on which this system was created. Who are the ones who have the right to be members of the boards of directors of the press establishments, and who are the ones who constitute the plenary sessions in the press establishment system? The supervision committees, which are referred to by the regulations, usually consist of four persons. Their function is to supervise the editorial policies or to set the guidelines for a newspaper. What has happened to these committees? From the beginning these

committees have not been able to exercise their function because they are committees incapable of making decisions. Journalistic responsibility requires quick decisions. How is it possible for an editor-in-chief to meet with four persons 40 times or more in the course of a single evening when he is dealing with a series of news items or articles that demand that a position be taken or a point of view be expressed? The regulations require him to consult these people, and it is difficult to locate all of them even once, much less numerous times as would normally be required in the process of putting out a newspaper. So when this system began not to perform its function, this meant the end of the effectiveness of the supervision committees. This is why I point out that what we have is an unnatural situation. And what is true concerning the supervision committees is also true concerning other spheres in journalism. I believe this is the basis of many of the mistakes and hardships that are being experienced by press establishment newspapers. I would have to be a director general of a press establishment or an administrative chairman in order to answer Mr al-Siba'i's question because it is an administrative and financial question having to do with expenditures. We in the editorial divisions do not know very much about financial matters except that which primarily has to do with capital.

[Mr al-Siba'i] You say that most of the members of the press establishments do not belong to the field of journalism. In your opinion, what is the solution to this problem? Is the press establishment system at present an obstacle to having members of the establishments who belong to the field of journalism?

[Mr Hashim] Not at all. The basic trouble is the manner in which the system was set up in 1383 A.H. This represented a stage that followed the stage of the merger that began in 1375 A.H. We note that there was a practical step that took place, and for which there was no alternative. This step was entrusting those in charge of the newspapers at that time with the job of forming the boards of directors of the press establishments that were about to be formed. These boards were formed, and the process of choosing their members took place, on the basis of personal judgments, and then they continued in one form or another. There are those who have withdrawn from being members of the boards, and there are those who have continued to serve on the boards up till today. It appears to me that after all this time we need to make a review of the situation, we need to formulate a system, and we need to give an adequate opportunity to those who discover in themselves the capability of making a practical contribution in this regard. We need people not with financial capability or social prestige but rather people with the mental and psychological readiness and background for understanding the nature of the journalistic process. This is necessary first of all because it is impossible for an editor-in-chief to deal with a board of directors that does not understand what he is talking about. It is impossible to present him with a budget of one type or another or with demands when he has a board of directors that does not understand the nature of these demands. This board of directors tends to view things in terms of commodities that are capable of bringing either a profit or a loss. What these directors demand is that there be a guarantee of profits at the end of the year. This is the type of approach that I believe cannot create successful journalism because it is a commercial approach. We know that journalism is not commerce. It is, first and foremost, taking a stand, furnishing an opinion and providing guidance and orientation.

[Mr al-Siba'i] It seems to me that the solution is to come out with a system of regulations for the press establishments, and that this would achieve this desire. Perhaps the presence here of his excellency the minister of information could help us find a solution approximating that of a system of new press establishments--God willing.

There is also a point that has to do with criticism in the press. To what extent can newspapers at the present time engage in objective criticism, that is, write remarks concerning our present society, officials or leaders during this age of press establishments?

[Mr al-Malik] There has begun to be much less criticism in Saudi newspapers than there was in previous times. When such criticism disappears, it is a good sign in my opinion if life in Saudi Arabia and the giant projects that are being carried out in our country are proceeding along a sound path. But when I look at what is going on in Saudi Arabia now, especially the ambitious programs that are being carried out, I personally believe that many mistakes are being committed and there are many shortcomings. I think that the best method of dealing with these shortcomings is to provide our press with a suitable climate that gives the best opportunity to provide us with frank criticism and opinions. I do not know fully whether or not these shortcomings are a result of the fact that our journalists are not familiar with what is going on and with those aspects of life in Saudi Arabia that the average citizen does not feel comfortable with. Is this lack of criticism a result of these things or is it a result of the fact that our young people and our writers refuse to write for newspapers? Or is this shortcoming really the result of the desire of many people who work in the field of journalism not to become embroiled in additional difficulties should they write things that some people, who work in some branches of the government and who are concerned with things that they would write about, would not be happy to see in print? This, in my opinion, is the issue concerning the subject of criticism. But I believe that the people who really should make an evaluation of this are the newspaper readers themselves. They are the ones to say whether or not our newspapers have criticism.

[Mr al-Siba'i] When we say "journalistic criticism," what we have in mind is the really constructive criticism that does not contain bias or arbitrariness and that cannot be called a vicious attack. Perhaps Mr Hamad al-Jasir could give us his opinion about the subject of current journalistic criticism.

[Shaykh al-Jasir] I believe that the [poorly-written] criticism in our press has to do with the writers themselves. We do not have critics who know what criticism is in the true sense of the word. Criticism means evaluation and improvement, as Mr al-Malik said. Most of the writers whose criticism we read in our press about certain matters may have some other purpose or aim in mind which is other than that of evaluation and improvement. On the whole, there are now very few writers of criticism in our country--especially criticism that has to do with social life in Saudi Arabia. But there is some criticism concerning literary life or intellectual matters written by the press and which Mr Hashim referred to, that is, the specialized journalism that is published by universities or official organizations. Rarely is criticism absent from one of the pages of these journals. If you read the magazine AL-DARAH and other such publications you will see some of

this. On the whole I do not believe that our press should be blamed for having a lack of critical writers. The criticism should be directed at the actual critics. I do not recall that any writer has approached a press publication and not found an opportunity to publish.

[Mr al-Siba'i] Some people say that Saudi newspapers are a carbon copy of each other. They say that if you read AL-RIYAD, then there is no need for you to read AL-JAZIRAH, and if you read 'UKAZ, there is no need to read AL-NADWAH, and so on. What is Mr Hashim's opinion concerning this, and to what degree is this accusation valid?

[Mr Hashim] I think this is a rumor that has been spread with regard to all newspapers. After all, what is the press? As I see it, is it not the news? And what are the means of obtaining the news? Are they not the international news agencies? Is not the news agency that gives a news item to any newspaper the same news agency that gives the news item to Saudi newspapers? And if this same news item is found in the NEW YORK TIMES or in any other newspaper of international standing, the reason is that all of these newspapers get the news item from the same source. It is only natural that they use the same sources, and they will have to continue to do so because these sources are the main sources of news. Besides AP and UPI there are news agencies such as the Gulf agency (Kuna) and the Arab agency called the Middle East News Agency. So Arab, Saudi, and international newspapers use the same sources. What we should look for are efforts made by individual journalists. I feel that it is unjust for us to say that our local newspapers are all alike with regard to the efforts made by individual journalists. We often find a news item, statement, interview or regularly published symposium in the newspaper AL-JAZIRAH or 'UKAZ that we do not find in any other newspaper. It is a mistaken approach to pass judgment concerning the press merely because all of these newspapers carry the same international news items or use the same pictures. My feeling is that we should even consider this to be an advantage. There is nothing wrong with having all of the same international news items and the same pictures in all of the newspapers, including Saudi Arabia's newspapers. This is a characteristic of Saudi Arabia's newspapers as well as other newspapers, and there is nothing wrong with this. In my newspaper there are 20 editors whose job it is to reformulate international and domestic news in order to give the news items an approach that is different from that of the news items as received from the news agencies. Let those present be assured that it is impossible for all of our local newspapers to carry the same news item in a generalized form because there exist different ways in which all of the journalists see the same news item and the same story. Each newspaper has its "kitchen," but journalistic skills vary from one newspaper to another in accordance with each newspaper's capabilities. For this reason, I believe that if we carefully review and scrutinize the same news item in any of these newspapers, we will come to the conclusion that this judgment is a mistaken one.

[Mr al-Siba'i] How do Saudi newspapers rate among Arab newspapers as a whole in terms of format and content?

[Mr al-Malik] It is difficult to assess Saudi newspapers and to compare them with any other Arab newspaper, especially if you are in charge of the work done in any Saudi press establishment. But it might be sufficient for us to point out that

Saudi newspapers are the only Arab newspapers in the Gulf region whose writers and journalists are Saudis. If we compare the number of people who worked in the press establishments 10 years ago with the number who are working in them today, we find that there is a big difference and that there are many more people today. And if we compare our newspapers' format and printing 10 years ago with what they are today, we find a huge difference. Furthermore, if we compare the amount of technology used to put out daily newspapers 10 years ago with the amount of technology used for this purpose today, we find that there utterly is no comparison. Saudi newspapers, no matter how diverse opinions might be with regard to evaluating them, still are good newspapers compared with what they used to be. There are some things that Saudi newspapers are not allowed to print. We in the Saudi press establishments either refrain from publishing them or are forbidden to publish them, but then we see these things in other Arab newspapers that come in to Saudi Arabia. If we used this as a criterion to show that other Arab newspapers are better than Saudi newspapers, then we would say that Saudi newspapers are backward newspapers. But if we look at Saudi newspapers in terms of format, print and the utilization of the best technology and methods for obtaining pictures and news items, we find that Saudi newspapers are just as good as any of the best current Arab newspapers. We do not find any international news items going unpublished in any Saudi newspaper. We do not find any non-Saudi Arab newspaper printing news that we cannot find in Saudi newspapers as well as in other Arab newspapers. Maybe Saudi newspapers demonstrate some attitudes that are the result of the fact that Saudi Arabia adheres to certain values, customs and traditions, and to the Islamic faith, and which are the result of Saudi Arabia's policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other countries. Maybe these factors represent restrictions as far as journalists are concerned. But we should be aware of the circumstances in Saudi Arabia and we should be aware of the ability of our Saudi newspapers to overcome their barriers and still come out with good newspapers that can compete with any newspaper from the other Arab countries. I believe that Saudi newspapers are among the best in the Arab world, especially when we take into account the fact that there are many Arab countries that publish newspapers.

[6 Jan 81 p 3]

[Text] The Responsibility of the Press Begins Where the Responsibility of the Education Sectors Ends.

The Press Is Not Something Separate From the Processes of Construction and Development.

The Press Provided an Opinion Concerning the Second Development Plan That Was Transformed Into a Series of Ideas That Have Been of Service and Promoted Development.

Readers in the Developing Countries Still Have Not Struck Up a Firm Friendship With Their Writers That Would Enable Them To Get By Without Reading What Their Newspapers Print.

'UKAZ now presents Part 2 of the symposium held by the Cultural Association of the University of Riyadh concerning the subject "The Saudi Press: Its Assets and Liabilities." [Names of symposium participants omitted.]

[Dr al-Shamikh] We do not always wish to reproach our Saudi press. Most of the Saudis who are in charge of our press are people who understand its objectives and are aware of its traditions. Our press is one that is committed to the intellectual thought and traditions of this country. And in spite of the barriers it faces and in spite of what has been happening in our life here, it is still moving forward and we hope that it will continue to move forward.

If we reproach our press somewhat, this does not mean that we are not giving it credit where credit is due. But now our life is developing and changing rapidly, and what we want is for our press to keep up with these changes and developments. Our press is being run by the people of this country, but this is not the case in many of the countries of the Arabian Peninsula.

Sometimes our press prides itself on the format, technical production or looks of its newspapers. If we compare our press of 50 years ago with our press today, there is no doubt that, from the point of view of form and looks and in terms of technical development, today's press is superior to the press of former times. But if we compare the level of the press 30 years ago in relation to Saudi society then with the level of today's press in relation to the Saudi society of today, we find that the press of the past was superior. Why is this? In former times, the press represented the epitome of intellectual thought in the country. Those who were in charge of the press educated and oriented society. If the press said something concerning some matter related to education or economics, its ideas were likely to be successful and correct because at that time there was nobody outside the field of journalism who was on a higher level than those who wrote for the press. If we examine the situation today, we find that this role has been taken over by the country's cultural, intellectual and industrial organizations and establishments. All of these establishments are now on a much higher level than the press. Opinions of those in the field of journalism do not count as much. I share the opinion of Shaykh Hamad al-Jasir in that I am not too impressed by all of the complicated equipment with which we continuously receive these color photographs and the news. These are things we can simply buy with our money and that many other countries of the world also have. And all of this can also be transmitted by means of radio and television. This is not something that is vital. The important thing is, what do Saudi thinkers offer the individual citizens of Saudi Arabia by means of our newspapers? This is what is important. Our Saudi press is now the press of a country that is full of doctors, engineers, economists and specialists in different fields. And if we look at the press and its organizations, we might find that they have specialists in the field of journalism and literature. With the personnel it has today, our press is unable to offer an economic opinion that could guide the country, nor is it able to offer an opinion concerning education. What we are saying is that in the past our press did bring up some opinions concerning university education or matters concerning education. Some of our journalist colleagues raise these matters today and we are surprised that they express these opinions. Why? Because they are based on elementary opinions held in the field of education that a specialist outside the field of journalism might know a great deal about. Our life has now developed and changed a great deal, and we cannot react positively to these opinions. Another question I have in mind when I contemplate our press is whether our press today has made a contribution in the realm of development and in the realm of guiding and educating our individual Saudi citizens. Does our press do anything in this regard or not? The thing that

I fear most is that if we assessed our press we would find that it is more interested in secondary matters than it is in basic and fundamental matters. I know that our press is shaping public opinion concerning soccer. There is no doubt that the press has dealt with soccer and with athletics. I also know that the press deals with matters concerning art and artists in a way that satisfies the readers. I am not saying that the press should not do these things. The press should also deal with these subjects. But in addition to this, what has the press been doing now in terms of dealing with our country's most vital and complicated matters? The country now is going through a technical crisis. The country's problem now is how we can get these masses of people, who gather together in soccer stadiums, to become interested in technology and in important things. How can we get them interested in these enormous projects which have been started? Who is going to be in charge of these projects later on? Are they going to be taken over by people who know only how to talk with their feet and kick a soccer ball? What will happen? I am not firmly convinced that our press has concerned itself with this matter. It has not dealt with the topic of our youth being intellectually oriented toward changing habits they have inherited from the past. I hope that the press will deal with this subject in a manner that will inspire our youth to be interested in learning things that are technical. No doubt our press lacks many of the elements that can shape its objectives. The press has become a complicated industry. Now it has to write about economic and scientific subjects. Where are the newspapers' science correspondents? Where are the economic correspondents? And where are the education correspondents? Such people are found only outside the field of journalism. Newspapers are always reproaching people outside the field of journalism who volunteer to write. I think that journalism now has become complicated. By now our country has undergone considerable development and has made huge strides. This means that a newspaper has to have a huge apparatus. If we look at our newspaper offices, we find that they look like hovels. At the same time, we find that newspapers in the world's larger countries occupy huge buildings and are bursting at the seams with editors and specialists.

I believe that our press right now is going through some degree of expansion. For this reason, I believe that the time may have come for our press to satisfy some of these demands in terms of development and in terms of providing orientation and education. The most important thing our press should engage in is orienting our citizens toward technical education. This cannot happen unless our newspapers have an objective. It is no longer appropriate for us to talk about whether to have a press run by individuals or a press run by establishments. We should be talking about the creation of vigorous newspapers. Why cannot we, in our country, be content to have two daily newspapers--one in Riyadh and one in Jiddah? These newspapers could be unlike the newspapers we now know. We do not want to see the writing for our newspapers done by writers who are so poor that we cannot even finish reading their articles. We do not want to have writers write things in the newspapers' youth section that orient our youth toward things we do not want them oriented toward. I would like to see us have a vigorous daily press that does not require using outside writers. It would have specialists in economics and specialists in education. I believe that if something of this sort would happen, we would have fewer complaints. I hope my journalist friends will strive to achieve these aims. I am appealing for news items that are local news items, not official news items. I am talking about general news items that would be read by the young people in the villages and cities and by means of which we could shape their

opinions and provide them with correct orientation--rather than ignoring them and leaving them no choice but to read other newspapers.

[Mr al-Siba'i] Is the Saudi press reluctant to provide orientation and education?

[Mr Hashim] I wish that Mr al-Shamikh would show more fairness and would do more justice to our local press by basing his assessment on a study of the matter. This is something that we have always been used to. I am not trying to defend local newspapers. But it seems to me that there is a radical difference in the concept of having a press as opposed to having printed matter that deals with material of a particular nature. Dr al-Shamikh talks about how our press was 50 years ago. At that time, SAWT AL-HIJAZ was the only means available for expressing opinions and for providing any type of material of intellectual content. This was because it was the only means by which a citizen who was a man of letters or of any other status could express his feelings in some form or another. But this is not a press. When I began talking, I wanted to make it clear that there is a great difference between the meaning of "press" and "periodicals." There are different types of periodicals, and each type of periodical serves a particular sector or group of people. We also wish to see a press of the type that Dr al-Shamikh is talking about and wishes to see. But what I would like to ask is: "What is the role of the press, and what is its mission?" Is a newspaper expected to create awareness or to develop such awareness? What is the difference between the role played by the press and the role played by universities and secondary schools? As a journalist, I believe that my responsibility begins where the responsibility of the various sectors of education and numerous fields of knowledge ends, in one form or another. It is the job of universities to create awareness, and it is the job of elementary and secondary schools to educate pupils and to prepare them. My job is then to take a person, refine and improve his awareness, and properly orient him. Where are the technical editors, economic editors or education editors who can shoulder the responsibility of being editors in a newspaper and can assume the types of responsibilities that Dr al-Shamikh referred to? All newspapers are frantically searching for these capabilities, which are so enticing. We often plead to have people with such capabilities who can perform certain functions for a newspaper. But we cannot find such people. There may be such people, but theirs is a different way of thinking. Their way of thinking does not permit them to be part of the daily journalistic process. What I wish to see is a press that is vital and interacts with the public. I do not want to see research and studies. I cannot use this type of research study because I am writing for different levels of people. There are other periodicals that are concerned with these matters. We should go back to the concept of the press as being something that develops rather than creates awareness. Perhaps what we are beginning to seek here is another role, which precedes the role of the press. And I do not believe that Dr al-Shamikh has forgotten that our press has a large number of great educators who, from time to time, contribute as many studies as they can and who, with their pens and critical comments, take us into their field and arena when necessary.

This is what can be done. The opportunities are still there, and it is one of our common aspirations to have our newspapers transformed into groups of people with superior capabilities who can provide us with good journalism. But this should be within the framework that we all know, that is, the framework of vital daily newspapers rather than essay newspapers, research newspapers, newspapers with

investigative reports and special articles and newspapers that provide instruction indirectly. I am not a professor or a teacher in a classroom who wields a stick and forces our society to learn. The readers are extremely sensitive when it comes to this method of learning and orientation. This orientation and education has to be put in journalistic form, must not be heavy material to read, and then it will be not only received by the people but they will also demand it.

Perhaps we are wrong in doing this, and perhaps we are not able to comprehensively cover all of the sectors that were mentioned. But I believe there is some justice in the fact that the third development plan was an accurate reflection of a series of opinions that were expressed after the second development plan was made public. This indicates two things; the first is that the press is not something that is apart from the process of construction and development. In one form or another, it is our job to adopt an issue, deal with it, discuss it and give our opinions concerning it.

There are also bodies and organizations that attempt to perceive the correct point of view, to adopt it and then to crystallize it into many of the ideas that they attempt to present in order to familiarize people with the third development plan. This is the impression that is given. This, in my opinion, is adequate evidence of the fact that the press provided an opinion concerning the second development that was transformed into a series of ideas that have been of service and promoted development. How did this come about? It would not have happened if journalism had not been a part of the daily process, a part of the experience, life and aspirations of our citizens. And then there are the pages with opinions sent in by readers. What is the function of these modest pages that all of our newspapers have and that are full of criticism? They indicate numerous healthy phenomena. They indicate a degree of interaction among various sectors of our population, on the one hand, and our citizens and their press, on the other hand. But in spite of all of this, there are shortcomings that we know exist. We have great hopes that everyone will cooperate in eliminating these deficiencies. But for us to say that there is no press or that the press of 20 or 30 years ago was better than what we have now is an accusation that I believe is unjust.

[Someone attending the symposium comments] The press in the developing countries is involved with the problems of these countries. Its role has to be different from that of the press in the advanced countries. The role it plays has to be one of furnishing opinions and also providing guidance, orientation and education. This is the opposite of what Mr Hashim is calling for. It is impossible for me to publish a study or research paper in a daily newspaper. This is because readers in the developing countries still have not struck up a firm friendship with non-newspaper writers that would enable them to get by without reading what their newspapers print. Readers in the developing countries still receive much of their knowledge and education from what is printed in the newspapers.

Then why do I not perform this role so that our readers can rise to the level of readers in Western countries? In those countries people might ask: "What books have you read this month?" The answer might be something like: "I read three books this month." In our country I doubt that people read at all, or at most there are people who read one or two books every month or two.

[Question from someone attending the symposium] I would like to hear the answers to two questions concerning the same topic. The first question is, how interested is the Saudi press in using correct Arabic? For example, when we read the headlines we find that they contain mistakes in Arabic and in Arabic grammar. This makes a reader sick to his stomach and causes him not to read our press, especially if he is one of those who knows Arabic well. I do not understand how we can have editors in charge of newspapers and radio broadcasters who do not know the Arabic language. The second question is, how can we improve and develop the Saudi press? I believe this is important both to the members of the audience and to those participating in the symposium.

[Mr al-Siba'i] The problem of Arabic is not a problem only in our newspapers. It is a problem found throughout the Arab world. We have the problem in our press, in our radio and in our television.

It is not only the press that is responsible for this. I know that newspapers employ specialists who correct the Arabic of the articles that are written. I do not know if radio and television also have specialists in Arabic who check their material before it is broadcast. It is a general problem in our newspapers because it is a general problem in the mass media as a whole.

[Mr al-Malik] It occurs to me that our Saudi newspapers need guidance because they are pursuing a line, following a policy or using an approach other than what good newspapers should do. This is my concept of the situation, and I personally believe that our Saudi newspapers have not reached this high level. But how can we develop the press establishments so that they become better? I believe that this can only be accomplished by revising the press establishment system.

This system reflects the experience of the situation in 1383 A.H. I believe that the the general changes and developments in our life, including the press, that have taken place since then require that we revise this press establishment system.

This system suggests that the members of the press establishments be chosen on the basis of certain conditions. The conditions are that a member be at least 25 years of age, that he have a record of good behavior and that he have a permanent source of income. At present, these conditions are not sufficient to constitute a criterion for the specific type of work that the press establishments engage in. There are many aspects of the regulations of the press establishments that are really ridiculous. For example, the regulations state that a daily newspaper requires one photographer, two correspondents or four editors. Today this would not enable us to even put out a monthly publication, much less a daily newspaper.

So what is basically needed is to revise the press establishment system. We also need to study the idea that was raised by Dr al-Shamikh. This idea has to do with whether or not we need such a large number of daily newspapers. Would it be a sound approach to merge them? Should we not dissolve some of the press establishments that, in my opinion, ever since the day they were established, have not reached a sufficiently high level? So far we have not had any reason to feel encouraged to expect that these press establishments will someday be successful press establishments. In my opinion, the solution is not to merge them. I think that we should revise the system of press establishments because they have not

kept pace with the development and growth that has been going on in Saudi Arabia. We also need to assess the importance of the need to have them continue as compared with the possibility of doing away with them. This would also be a good scientific approach for encouraging successful press establishments.

There are establishments that are considered to be successful establishments--according to their evaluation by society and in the view of the Ministry of Information, judging by the assistance that is provided to them and judging by the principle of justice that all of our government offices employ when they decide to subscribe to any particular newspaper. All of this is subject to the same criterion. This is not important. This is the approach used when we begin to reward someone who does his work well. And we need to revise press establishments and newspapers, which so far have not been able to furnish what is expected and demanded of them. This is the way to provide the public with a good press.

[Someone attending the symposium] The thing that we should be asking is: "Is journalism a calling or a vocation?" How nice it would be if we could have another symposium like this one some day in the future. If journalism is a vocation, then it seems to me that our present-day journalists are doing their job well. But if journalism is a calling, then I am not sure how well they are doing their job, and this goes not only for our country but also for the whole Arab world.

[Someone attending the symposium] The Saudi press, in spite of some of its shortcomings and gaps, still makes its contribution to the development of Saudi society. It is keeping right up with the demands and requirements of Saudi society. It is not expected of our daily press that it be a press that specializes in scientific, economic, technical and agricultural research articles. It is a press that gives news and presents us with reports. In this respect, our Saudi press has been successful. It has been successful, although we do expect it to be even more successful.

It is very hard for us to expect the Saudi press to reach the level of the press in countries that, from the economic point of view, are very advanced and where the press has a long history going back perhaps 200 or 300 years. In the past, the Saudi press was a press that provided news and literature. Now this press has been transformed from being a press of news and literature to being a press that furnishes reports. When we read the Saudi press that was published in the past, we see that it furnished daily news on a local level, but when we read the press today we see that it is concerned with what is going on throughout Saudi Arabia. We find that the newspaper AL-JAZIRAH writes about even the smallest village in some remote part of the country and that it also responds to the demands of Saudi society. This is something very good. In the old days, the Saudi press did not have the technological means to obtain such news items. We do demand more of our press, but we should not demand that it do the impossible. The impossible is something that cannot be achieved.

[Someone attending the symposium] It is usually said that a nation's press is a mirror that reflects that nation. Are these words of praise or are they words of censure? Or does this mean that a country's press should be its mirror or a mirror that reflects its real situation, and that we should be able to look at the press and see the true nature of the country? Based on this premise, I could

perhaps say that we have the press we deserve. Perhaps we deserve our press and everything in it. I did have a question that was hostile to the press, but Dr al-Shamikh has aroused our love and affection for our press and everything in it. So I would like to ask the question: "Could it be that we have the press that we deserve, along with everything connected with it?" I believe that we deserve the press that we have. This does not necessarily mean that we do not deserve something good, or that our press is a good press. But what we are doing is cornering our press and throwing stones at it from the academic point of view, and then we sense that everybody is reluctant to make its contribution to the press and to write for it. It is as if we are looking in the mirror and throwing stones at our own faces. It is as if we are reproaching ourselves. We do have a tendency to be cruel with our criticism and to be cruel in our reproach. Maybe the motive for this is love and compassion. Our press represents our shortcomings. When we wish for our press to be better, this only represents aspirations that we have for ourselves. We should not be content merely to attack our press and to wish it well. What we need to do also is to determine our own responsibilities concerning how to have our press reach the high level that we aspire for it.

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PRINCE TALAL TALKS ABOUT HIS WORK, COUNTRY'S SITUATION

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 1 Jan 81 p 3

[Interview with Prince Talal ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, by 'Abdallah Idris; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Talal ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz--How Does He Think, and
and What Does He Think About?

"I Said to Them in Europe: 'When We Were Riding Camels and
Eating Dates, Nobody Was Interested in Us.'"

"I Am Against Either Absolute Freedom or Absolute Control
of the Press."

"Building Human Beings Is More Important Than Building Factories."

During a press conference in Europe, a representative from TASS stood up and asked for a retranslation of what this man had said!

The translation was as follows: "When we were riding camels and eating dates, nobody was interested in us and nobody gave us hospitals, schools, and roads!"

The TASS representative was stunned when he heard these remarks, which were made by a person from the Third World--the part of the world that is witnessing the tragedies and suffering of 3 billion human beings and that is sounding the alarm, saying: "There are 35,000 children who are dying every day!"

This is why this man is devoting his time and energy to serving UNICEF, one of the world's important humanitarian organizations. Today he is announcing the establishment of a very important and vigorous Gulf Arab organization, which will try to eliminate some of the poverty, hunger, and sickness inflicting the people of the backward countries of the world.

Prince Talal ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz is an international figure who lately has been involved with some of the Third World's suffering and problems. He has made enormous efforts to try to collect \$200 million to be used for human development in the countries of the Third World. It is true that this sum is a modest one compared with the mass of humanity in the Third World, but this does not mean

that he does not have other goals. The organization, the establishment of which was recently announced, will some day become a great international humanitarian organization that will alleviate some of the suffering and tragedies of the Third World.

The interview that His Highness Prince Talal ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz gave to 'UKAZ lasted for a whole hour. During that time he opened up his heart and, as we have always known him to be, was sincere and radiant. This is why, after I had my interview with him, I felt a great sense of joy and satisfaction.

In his brilliant discourse with me, he talked about many topics, both from his perspective as a Saudi citizen and as a person in charge of an organization that is sensitive to, and interested in, the fate of mankind and in advancing mankind. Prince Talal talked to me about the life of his late father, King 'Abd al-'Aziz, and how he was a man whose example was able to produce great leaders and how he embodied the unity of our country. Actually, what he said about his father King 'Abd al-'Aziz should be printed as a book rather than as a newspaper interview. Then he told me about the manner in which he was carrying out his great humanitarian mission, explaining to the world how much the Arab Muslims in the world are concerned with the world's human beings and children. Prince Talal also talked about the press and expressed his frank opinion about it as a person who feels very friendly to journalists and who is very interested in the press.

I took this opportunity to ask him some questions about his personal and public life, and was surprised by the way he opened up his heart and his mind to me, and how he spoke with the adroitness of a journalist, the diplomacy of a politician, and the memory of a historian.

"I Am Undertaking a Humanitarian Mission"

I said to Prince Talal: "I feel very proud when I see that one of our Saudi citizens is the head of this great humanitarian organization. This organization's mission is an unusual one, isn't it?"

[Answer] The mission that I am undertaking now is basically a humanitarian mission. But as a result of coming to know about what is being undertaken by UNICEF, in particular, and by other UN organizations, I consider that my mission is also related to human development in the countries of the Third World through those organizations that are part of the UN.

There are a lot of nations in the world--and I am thinking of Western nations, not Arab nations--that do not have a true picture of what could be accomplished by these organizations. Sweden, Denmark, and Norway are exceptions because they pay half of UNICEF's budget. They also pay 25 percent of the budget of the other UN organizations. Their view concerning this matter is one that is both humanitarian and civilized.

It is my impression that these organizations, especially UNICEF, are able to play an effective role in helping the developing countries take their backward human resources and develop them educationally, materially and in terms of health. On many occasions I have said that UNICEF and other such organizations are support

organizations in the sense that we cannot impose any project on a country unless the country requests this project from us. And--praise be to God--this organization responded favorably to a Saudi initiative, put forth by King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, to have Saudi Arabia contribute the sum of \$60 million. I have no doubt that this gesture dazzled many people in some foreign countries. This was evidenced by the fact that NEWSWEEK wrote an article in which it said that the West accuses the oil-producing nations of the world of neglect, but here we have Saudi Arabia contributing a great deal toward humanitarian causes.

Since I have been engaging in this mission, I have seen that it is through this organization that real initiative is to be taken.

[Interviewer] But Prince Talal also tells about the painful truth to be found in reports that have been submitted by experts.

[Prince Talal] The experts whom UNICEF recently sent to some areas of Saudi Arabia found that our country was like any other area in the Third World. They found that from 140 to 150 of every 1,000 children die, whereas in the advanced industrial nations of the world only 7 children out of 1,000 die.

So children in Saudi Arabia, like the children in the other countries of the Third World, suffer from the same things that all children in backward countries suffer from.

[Question] All this despite the prosperity that we have here and despite our potential?

[Answer] This has nothing to do with it. The only difference between Saudi Arabia and the other countries of the Third World is that we have wealth that God has seen fit to give us.

[Question] How can we solve this problem and this tragedy?

[Answer] When the experts submitted this report, I told them that we want to cut this number [of children who die] in half.

[Question] What was their answer?

[Answer] They said that it would take a miracle to achieve this in 10 years! That is, if this miracle took place, 70 children of every 1,000 would die instead of 140. This means that we would never catch up with Europe, and this is something that we both want and hope to do!!

The Third World is not aware of this fact. During my trip to the Sudan, Pakistan, and the Gulf countries I discovered this. The Scandinavian countries view things quite differently. They have a whole lot of child care programs and community centers. We in the countries of the Third World could utilize and benefit from the methods and practices that they have followed. To do this, a great deal of effort will be necessary.

[Question] Here in Saudi Arabia we do have the Higher Council for Child Care. What has it done?

[Answer] Unfortunately, it exists but has not been effective!

[Question] What are the reasons for this? What suggestions might it be beneficial for the council to follow?

[Answer] I think that there ought to be a Higher Family Council and that such a council should include the care of children and their mothers. The person in charge of the council should be an effective person who can overcome the red tape and obstacles which are found in the countries of the Third World. This council would have its own authority and responsibilities and would have total supervision over an integral plan for human development.

[Question] What you mean is that we would have to overcome our widespread "bureaucracy," don't you?

[Answer] This is especially true since we have already started our 3-year plan. We could merge our projects that deal with child care, care of the mothers and human development, but we would have to do so on the condition that we not be restricted by any rules, laws, and regulations that could prove an obstacle to these projects.

I advised all of the countries that I visited to set up higher committees or councils that would be called "child care councils" or "family care councils." They would have their own budgets and organizational systems that would enable them to overcome red tape. Some of the countries agreed to do this, and now they are helping us to carry out this mission.

[Question] A lot of development and economic and industrial progress is going on in many of the countries of the Third World, including Saudi Arabia!

[Answer] A report made by the World Bank last August indicates that human development provides a 20 percent greater yield than the material yield obtained by building factories and roads.

What this means is that it is impossible to undertake anything unless one begins with human development. But unfortunately the countries of the Third World have a different view of this than do the world's advanced countries. This is something that we are trying to change, and in doing so this Arab organization, the establishment of which has been announced, will be playing an effective role.

Money Alone Is Not Enough

[Question] We know that we have the material potential with which to achieve all of this, don't we?

[Answer] Because of our enormous material potential, we may be able to achieve our objectives from 3 to 5 years before some of the other countries that do not have this potential. I am thinking, for example, of Pakistan, which has human potential but does not have material potential. We in Saudi Arabia do not have the human potential. At this point I want to say one thing that is fundamental. In any country it is not possible to achieve any real developmental objectives unless the country depends on its own people in the long run, and this requires the building of child care centers, centers which care for mothers and the training of workers, technicians, and specialists.

[Question] But is it not possible to overcome the problem of a lack of human potential by using foreign experts?

[Answer] Foreign experts and workers see things differently than do Saudis.

Let me give you an example. Two weeks ago I was in the desert and was in the desert and was engaging in some frank discussion with the bedouins. You hear them say things like: "I am a 'tribal' Arab. I can never become a blacksmith or a carpenter!"

I said to them: "All the Prophets and Messengers of God were craftsmen and tradesmen, so why should you not work? I, as one of King 'Abd al-'Aziz's sons, am prepared to have my son enter a vocational school. This is nothing to be ashamed of! On the contrary, this is something to be proud of. Not working is something to be ashamed of."

[Question] If we want to build our country, then the first thing we have to do is to develop and train our country's people. In your capacity as someone who is primarily engaged in concentrating on human development, how do you think we can create enough qualified Saudi personnel?

The Bedouins Must Start Learning Trades

[Answer] We have heard that the current development plan will concentrate primarily on human development. How nice it would be if someone had said something about this during the first plan. We would have had positive results by now and we would have created the technical and specialized personnel to tackle our projects. It may be sufficient, after a fashion, to hire experts from other countries, whether they be from Arab countries, Muslim countries, or other foreign countries. But in the long run this will not do. In the long run we have to rely on our own Saudi citizens.

[Question] Does the initiative have to come from our Saudi citizens?

[Answer] I feel that the initiative has to come from within our Saudi family. It has to come from us. This is an honor for us. Bedouins constitute more than a third of our inhabitants, and the great majority of them are scornful of the idea of working in the trades!

Today we already have engineers, pilots and officers. We have specialists. But what we need is experts in trades and people with vocational skills. The institutions that teach vocational skills do not have enough Saudi students.

[Question] What do you say about our young people whose goal is to obtain a university diploma and then sit in a comfortable air-conditioned office?

[Answer] I am against building more universities. What you hear nowadays is that a given region of the country is demanding a university in the same way that it is demanding a kindergarten. But what we need is vocational training and middle-level educational institutions. I have heard Saudi university rectors advise me against the building of more universities.

[Question] Right now we are going through a certain stage of our civilization and we are living in times of constant change. Our government has shown that it is fully prepared to introduce changes in our society and has announced that it is studying the plan for organizing the new Advisory Council. What are your ideas about the new Advisory Council, and what form and nature do you think it should take?

[Answer] Being a member of the Advisory Council, in my opinion, will mean neither being elected nor being appointed, because we have already seen councils where they say that the members are elected, but the fact is that they are appointed!!

There are councils that claim that their members are elected, but the fact is that the opposite is true. I think that the important thing is that the members be well chosen. I see three main things as necessary concerning the Advisory Council:

1. Legislation should take place through the council.
2. The budget should be ratified by the council.
3. Those in the council who are at fault should be called to account, and those who do their work well should be recognized.

All other matters can be open for discussion.

[Question] Do you not believe that Saudi Arabia has the necessary base for an Advisory Council? Could one not cite the example of what King 'Abd al-'Aziz did in this regard?

[Answer] In fact, under King 'Abd al-'Aziz there was a council of advisors and a council of deputies. Most of the laws and ordinances were issued through these two councils. In addition, King 'Abd al-'Aziz's General Council was, in fact, an advisory council. This was pointed out by the English orientalist Philby in one of his books about the life of King 'Abd al-'Aziz.

[Question] So it is a part of our traditions?

[Answer] This is an old and true Saudi tradition.

A Frank Opinion Concerning the Press

[Interviewer] Speaking with Prince Talal, one finds oneself in the company of a cultured gentleman who possesses a high degree of general awareness. Our interview touched on various topics, including the press. I took advantage of this opportunity to ask him his opinion about our Saudi press. I was especially interested in asking this question since I was intrigued by the fact that he had told me that the press today was more important than any of the other information media.

[Prince Talal] In my opinion, journalism means news, pictures and commentaries. This is traditionally what journalism is. But our press contains neither news, nor pictures nor commentaries. In addition, our press publications contain many errors and often do not provide any background information for their news items.

[Question] Some people think that our newspapers are all alike. Do you agree?

[Answer] There is an Egyptian saying: "If the news item appears in AL-AHRAM, then you can read the rest of it in AL-JUMHURIYA." I find that when I leaf through Saudi newspapers, I do so very quickly.

[Question] Is there not some reason why they are all the same?

[Answer] I am against absolute freedom of the press, and I am also against absolute control of the press!

[Question] What do you mean when you say "freedom of the press"?

[Answer] "Freedom of the press," as we understand it, means the freedom to furnish necessary constructive criticism. By means of a dialog between us we can identify our mistakes. We need the constructive criticism that is provided by the press. And this is something that can be restricted.

[Question] How do you mean?

[Answer] I do not demand that press publications have censors. The word "censor" is a nasty one. But there should be meetings held by those in charge of the media and journalists to establish a policy that all can then follow. This suggestion was mentioned to me by the former chief editor of one of our newspapers, and I, in turn, have passed it on to some of the people concerned. Why should I now saddle you with a censor? You are your own censor. And if there is communication and a dialog between us, this will enable you to trust yourself, will enable the government to have confidence in you, and thus everyone will have the same objective.

[Question] What do you think of our information media today?

[Answer] The German ambassador in Jiddah, who is a person who is very friendly toward, and feels a great deal of affection for, this country, told me that in Germany, which is an advanced country, they brought in an American firm to help them with their government information media. Then why can't we bring in some trained experts and also give the top positions to our Saudi personnel!?

[Question] We have our own experts!

[Answer] Nobody has put them to work, and they are not being used. We have more than 50,000 university graduates. Furthermore, we should not just depend on the media. All of us are in this battle together.

[Question] I have a personal question I would like to ask you. As a father, how do you deal with your children?

[Answer] I always tell my children: "I want to treat you like I would treat any child in Saudi Arabia." I do not give them monthly allowances. I give them money when they need it, and I make each one of my children account for every piaster that he spends. I teach them traits of character and customs that unfortunately have gone out of fashion in our country. We had some beautiful customs. When I go to foreign countries, I find that they still adhere to their customs and traditions. Today we have given up many of our customs. The only thing I hear people talk about is money and real estate. Where is our nobleness and self-respect? We began to lose all of this when our country underwent its economic boom. And this is only natural. If we look at the economic boom that occurred in Europe, and all of the labor pains and social problems that it entailed for them, we find that their situation was harder for them than our situation has been in Saudi Arabia. But in spite of this they still say: "This does not mean that we are giving up our customs." We are trying, as much as possible, to have our children continue these customs. But we have to remember that our son today is educated not only in the home. He also receives his education in school, on the street and among friends. He spends most of his time apart from me at home. So I cannot exist without society. All of us together constitute an integral society.

[Question] How many children do you have?

[Answer] I have 7 children--4 boys and 3 girls.

[Question] Do you see your children as being the same as when you were a child?

[Answer] Unfortunately I don't!

[Question] Why is this?

[Answer] The situation has changed. We have been affected by strange influences. It used to be that a younger brother would kiss his older brother on the hand, and we were proud of this custom. But today many such customs have disappeared, and this is an unfortunate thing.

[Question] As one of the sons of King 'Abd al-'Aziz, what benefit do you feel his sons derived from him?

[Answer] All of us are in the habit of telling the truth. There are certain traits that the sons of King 'Abd al-'Aziz inherited from him. But it is not enough just to say all of this. We have to have meetings with people. We have to pay visits among ourselves and visit our citizens. One of the ulema once said to me: "Talal, you must stop isolating yourselves from the people. You must mingle with them and get to know what their problems are. All of you are responsible people." Then he told me the story about how King 'Abd al-'Aziz was a guest of a tribal shaykh during the days when the country was poor, and this shaykh served him a dish of food that was not very clean. King 'Abd al-'Aziz rolled up his sleeve and ate the food. Then he said: "This is the best food I have ever eaten in my life!!" In those days there was no such thing as the media. There was no television, no press and no radio. But this story spread among all of the tribes.

This is an example to follow. We must mingle with the people everywhere, both in the settled areas and in the desert. This is our duty.

[Question] But aren't circumstances different now?

[Answer] I do not go along with this! My opinion is that circumstances have changed for the better. For example, now it is possible for me to talk with you by telephone instead of having to ride a camel to come visit you.

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PRINCE SA'UD IBN 'ABD AL-MUHSIN DISCUSSES ROLE OF WOMEN, MILITARY SERVICE

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 12 Jan 81 p 3

[Interview with Prince Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-Muhsin, by 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Tamimi;
date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Prince Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-Muhsin--How Does He
Think, and What Does He Think About?

"We Can Deal With Challenges When Guided by Pure Faith."

"Gulf Unity Is an Issue That Requires No Discussion."

"It Is in Our National Interest To Have Compulsory Military Service."

"The Key to Real Progress for Us Is To Live Like Muslims."

"The Formation of the Advisory Council Is a Basic Positive Step."

"I Am Definitely Against Men and Women Associating With Each Other."

Should I introduce you to our guest on this page of our newspaper? I fear that I will not be able to do him justice. Suffice it to say that he is one of a generation of young Saudis who, after gaining a considerable amount of education, experience and knowledge, have made up their minds to serve their country and consequently have taken on their full share of responsibility for contributing toward our nation's development and progress.

Let me introduce you to him. He is the type of person whose thoughts are easily read. He has the type of transparent nature that reveals what is inside him. And what you find is a great deal of love for his country, affection for his fellow man and unlimited generosity. And he is only 29 years old.

From the very first moment of the interview he gave me the full opportunity to learn what was going on in his thoughts, mind and heart. I found that he possesses a wealth of information about people, society and our country. I also found that he has a great deal of maturity, awareness and knowledge. Among his feelings and emotions there is a tremendous amount of love for God and for his fellow man and a tremendous desire to live a good and noble life. This is how

I would describe our guest, His Highness Prince Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, deputy governor of the Province of Mecca.

[Prince Sa'ud] From my father I learned a love for taking on my responsibilities and a love of knowledge, and I learned the virtues of being patient and silently carrying out one's work. I learned to tell the truth without fearing anyone except God--may He be praised and exalted. I also learned not to do anything secretly if I could not do it openly, because this conflicts with all sound principles and virtuous values.

Also I learned self-reliance.

[Question] What do you teach your children?

[Answer] I teach them to love and believe in God, to love and work for the sake of their country, and to have confidence in themselves.

[Question] And what have you learned from them?

[Answer] From them I have learned a new type of love. We used to see our parents' love in all of their gestures, their fondness for us and the way they took care of us. But when a person becomes a parent he learns that there is a new type of love that exists between him and his children that is different from the type of love he has known before. There is a new type of relationship that binds him to his children. It is possible for a person to either develop this relationship or to kill it. But I personally am one who tries to develop and continue this relationship.

[Question] What are your hobbies?

[Answer] Reading. I like to read books on history, politics and culture, and I like some types of literature. I also like to travel.

My father taught me a love for reading. His vast and diverse library was a great source for me to acquire and read books.

[Question] What is your education?

[Answer] I have a B.A. degree in public administration from [a university in] the United States.

[Question] Your Highness, you have lived for a number of years outside Saudi Arabia. What is the main thing that you have learned from life--something that you did not learn by studying it in school?

[Answer] You are right. I lived outside of Saudi Arabia from 1958 till 1972. During my life I have learned a great many things. These things have taught me, in particular, not to be envious of Western society because of its modern life and technological and industrial progress. I believe that all of the achievements of the Western nations could be nullified by their explosive social problems.

From being in the Western countries, I learned that we should firmly adhere to Islam because it is the only thing that can bring light to our minds and hearts and keep our conscience alive. There is something else I learned there that I want to teach my children. It is the fact that a person must have an open mind and must have enough understanding and awareness to discriminate and make choices. There is no need to fear a person who understands things. The person to fear is the ignorant person. If you have an open mind, if you maintain your faith and if you believe and trust in God, then you shall surely know your Lord and shall have nothing to fear.

[Question] Your Highness, what is the duty of our educated people during this present stage of our country's history when our society is undergoing both a great many social changes and comprehensive development in all areas?

[Answer] In my opinion, the duty of our educated people is to achieve a complete understanding of the circumstances of our society and to study these circumstances in a deliberate, scientific and analytical fashion that takes into consideration our society's past, present and future. This study should concern not only our society's history but also all of its dimensions and all aspects of its thought, social relations and economy. By means of making a study study such as this, our educated people--just as we citizens and leaders--can help to achieve for their nation the comprehensive development that it is seeking in all those areas and fields that give us a greater degree of abundance and prosperity. In my opinion, these studies are part of the process of accurately observing the country's social and cultural development. It is due to this observation process that planning can take place for our country's present and future--sound planning that stays abreast of the modern growth the country is experiencing. Another benefit gained from these studies is the creation of positive solutions to problems and difficulties that we may confront in the life of our country.

[Question] What role should Saudi individuals play in this process of development and change?

[Answer] Saudi individuals should strive to gain a true understanding of both their present life and its demands as well as their future life, but without forgetting their past. The reason for this is that by means of viewing all of these things together, a person can achieve for himself all of the development and changes that he desires for himself, his family and his society.

One of a Saudi citizen's primary duties is to be able to engage in self-criticism and to know whether or not he is truly able to benefit from the many opportunities that are made available to him every day as well as from the tremendous potential that is at his fingertips.

It is the duty of a Saudi citizen to engage in the process of planning both for his life and for the direction it will take so that he will reach, in the end, the higher goal toward which he is striving. He must review everything that he has undertaken and must attempt to grasp all of the changes and variables that surround him so that he can keep up with the spirit of the modern age.

I have no doubt of the fact that our society is going through the stage of a great boom that has brought into our country an enormous number of people who are both influencing our society and being influenced by it as well.

The result has been the appearance of numerous new factors of social change that have been added to the existing factors of tradition and inherited practices. All of this, in the end, will provide a new formula for our society in Saudi Arabia. But all of this should not make us forget that we possess a pure faith that we must adhere to in the final analysis and that constitutes a mighty fortress that defends us from many of the illnesses of the modern age that have afflicted many other countries and that they have come to suffer from to a considerable degree.

[Question] What then is the role of our educational programs at this point?

[Answer] I strongly urge that we have an educational program that is clear-cut and that is not based on a policy of imitating others. The school curricula should be based on a total understanding of life in our society so that our school courses give pupils a clearly delineated picture of the development that is taking place in their country. And from these pupils it will be expected--in the future, after horizons of true knowledge have been opened up to them and have given them a sense of confidence in themselves and hope for the future--that they be people who are capable of being innovative and constructive and capable of contributing something new.

[Question] And what is the role of the family and of women?

[Answer] The family--and this is all-important and basic--is the first society in which a child receives his lessons in life, where his personality traits take shape and where his future modes of behavior are created. The home is the basis and the source, and all other things are supplementary and in addition to it. This is why the role of the family is both great and fundamental. There is no doubt that the mother plays a fundamental and important role in this educational process. She is the one who has the primary mission and the most prominent role in bringing up the child and teaching him virtuous principles and a sound frame of mind as well as a love for cleanliness, respect for order and honor and respect for his relatives and for older people.

[Question] What is your opinion about women holding jobs outside the home?

[Answer] I am unquestionably one of those who prefer to see women stay at home to perform the greatest task for which God created them. Their mission at home is no less important--and is perhaps more important--than the mission carried out by men outside the home.

But I also feel that life has made it necessary for women to work. This is not prohibited by our true faith. The issue is not an issue of whether or not women should work outside the home. The issue has become one of existence. Our country is considered to be a developing country, and half of the people in our society are women. If the population of Saudi Arabia is 8 million, this means that 4 million people in Saudi Arabia are women. Furthermore, there are many children and young people in our society. Does it make sense to have our country built by the hands of only half of its population, whereas the other half remains idle? And how long could this go on?

Women's fields of work should be defined, and our Islamic faith is our greatest guide in this matter and will enable us to reach the goals that we are seeking.

Concerning the question of allowing women to work, we should view this issue progressively but at the same time we should vigorously preserve the true foundations of our Islamic faith. If there are particular barriers, then we should overcome them, even though this does not mean that we can totally eliminate them.

There are some people who bring up the problem of men and women associating with each other. In my opinion, this is something we should not waste a lot of time discussing. My belief is that we should maintain our society's special approach to this, and I am wholeheartedly in favor of it. The association of men and women with each other, in any field or domain, is something we do not approve of and are not in favor of. There are some educated people who are in favor of it and who raise this issue, but they are unaware of its true dimensions and of the repercussions it would have in our society.

I feel that it is necessary for women to have a role that is clear-cut, plain, and effective. It should be decided once and for all what the nature of women's work is, what fields and areas they should be allowed to work in, and this should be clearly and precisely defined.

[Question] What is the role of our Saudi universities in the process of change and development?

[Answer] Our universities represent a stage of education that we must see as centers of serious academic research that respond to the needs of our country and are concerned with consolidating their bases and principles of research in order to keep up with the technological developments taking place in the world. There is no doubt that our Saudi universities, during the last few years, have been able to play their role as centers of academic learning that produce young Saudis who are capable of serving their country, responding to the needs of our society, entering life's battle area and attempting to apply what they have studied and learned.

In my personal opinion, we should strive to have our universities give Ph.D. degrees in all academic fields so that our young people can realize their aspirations and so that our country can achieve its aim of having these young people study its problems and the course of its development.

[Question] Now let us turn to the Saudi media. What is expected of the Saudi media, and what is the role of the media at this stage of our country's history? Do you believe that the Saudi media have really made a contribution in terms of educating and developing people in Saudi Arabia?

[Answer] In my opinion, the Saudi media are undergoing a good degree of development. But as for whether the media have reached the stage of educating people in Saudi Arabia, I believe that they have come part of the way in this regard, but there is still a long way to go.

Undoubtedly the Saudi media will achieve the objectives expected of them by means of scientific planning utilizing particular media approaches that involve educating the public and teaching our citizens the most desirable values and

habits. In performing this task, the media should work together with other educational bodies, and by means of such continuous coordination between the media and these other educational bodies we will have an overall apparatus capable of enabling us to understand both ourselves and the factors in our country's development.

[Question] Your Highness, could we talk a little bit about the establishment of the Advisory Council?

[Answer] This step is certainly not a simple one. And the Advisory Council should really be an advisory council, otherwise why have an advisory council? For the Advisory Council to be effective, a great many factors must be taken into consideration which some people might not be aware of. Some of these people might say: "Well, you are the ones who have said that you want to establish the Advisory Council." There is a ready response to this. Is it only needed for us to merely establish an advisory council? If this is the aim, then this is something that can be accomplished very easily. We can just choose people, have them called members of the Advisory Council, and not have them do anything. But the purpose of an advisory council is primarily to constitute an integral part of our nation's general policymaking. How can this Advisory Council establish contact with government departments and ministries? What shall be the authority of the council? Who shall be chosen to be the members of the Advisory Council? And when they are chosen, what exactly will be the functions they will perform so that there will be no interference [and duplication of efforts of other government officials]?

I do not think it is desirable to be hasty in the establishment of the Advisory Council. At the same time, it is my belief that the establishment of the Advisory Council constitutes a basic positive step that will be of great benefit to our country and its citizens. And God will help us, as we know our leaders will, in the realization of this task.

[Question] What is your opinion about compulsory military service?

[Answer] It is in our higher national interest to have compulsory military service. We are a country that has become the object of envy of others, and many people have their eyes on us. Naval fleets are lurking outside our territorial waters. Who is going to protect the security of Saudi Arabia? Saudi Arabia's policy has been, and will continue to be--in the words of our leader His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, as well as his loyal heir apparent--that Saudi Arabia, even if it is unable to defend itself, yet will not benefit from any foreign intervention or military bases. For Saudi Arabia to be a noble nation capable of earning the honor of protecting the Holy Places and of defending both the Muslim and Arab world, we must have a strong army composed of strong and capable young men who join its ranks to defend their nation and homeland. It is an honor for people to be in military service; it teaches them manhood and courage. Compulsory military service is beneficial to society in many fields because the Saudi Army is not merely a military force. It is a showcase of modern civilization that embraces all of the fields of modern technology that provide our youth with opportunities to be trained in all of the industrial and non-industrial skills so that they can acquire for themselves experience, expertise and an honorable profession. It also provides them with opportunities for training with various modern devices and implements--both military and civilian.

But at this point I would like to say that compulsory military service really starts with the family because every family is able to provide its sons with care and orientation in a way that spares them many of the problems young people have.

[Question] Your Highness, what role does Saudi Arabia play in giving support to the countries of the Gulf area to thereby protect their development and independence?

[Answer] My friend, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf Arab countries together, in our historical, geographical and social situation, constitute an inevitable natural unit. Saudi Arabia is an integral part of the Gulf countries, and the Gulf countries are also an integral part of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia's leaders, as well as the leaders of the Gulf countries, believe that it is the responsibility of the people of this region themselves to provide for the region's security and stability and the peace of mind of its inhabitants.

When we talk about the relationship of Saudi Arabia to the other Gulf countries, we realize that it is a relationship different from Saudi Arabia's relationship with some other countries that is based on agreements, commitments and documents. It is a relationship among the members of a single people that obligates both Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf countries to shoulder their full responsibilities. They are marching together in a single rank, and they are convinced that standing united and shoulder to shoulder is their everlasting destiny, and they will always be a part of it.

And if--God forbid--any harm comes to any part of this region, then it will have either a negative or a positive effect on other parts of the region [sic]. This is something that all of the leaders of the region know. And Saudi Arabia has been, and will remain, the mainstay not only of the countries of the Gulf area but also of all countries in the Arab and Muslim world.

[Question] Your Highness, how can Islamic society deal with the dangerous challenges that confront it and that affect the course of its life, whether the challenges are in the form of political pressure or Western ideologies that have as a target our society's religious faith, intellectual thought and future?

[Answer] I personally believe that if we do not live as Muslims, we will not be able to deal with all of these dangerous trends and challenges confronting us.

What do I mean when I say "live as Muslims?" Thousands of books could be written about the meaning of these words. When I say "live as Muslims," I mean that we should comprehend the true meaning of what it is to be a Muslim. Muslims were people who, when Islam was first proclaimed, were able to start from scratch and to create a new civilization on the barren desert. In those days, people were enslaved by both the East and the West. The East at that time was represented by the Persian Empire, and the West was represented by the Byzantine Empire. We were the ones who were enslaved by these two empires. We really had no potential in our life at all. We had some poetry and literature, but other than that we did not have any of the cultural influences that mold a nation.

Then came Islam. Islam created a new type of man in the Arabian Peninsula. This new type of man knew his Lord and his faith, fasted, prayed, gave alms, made

the pilgrimage and performed all of the religious duties that brought him close to God--may He be praised and exalted. They waged the holy war, fought with conviction and fought at a time when the Persians and Byzantines represented superpowers--the same superpowers that we have today.

Today these superpowers have atomic bombs, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and various other nuclear and non-nuclear weapons. And in those days the superpowers also had modern weapons that the Arabs did not have. Nevertheless, Muslims in those days were able to wage a holy war to serve God and to defeat these superpowers in spite of the advanced weapons they had. We imposed ourselves on them because we lived as Muslims, heart and soul, and we entered societies which at that time were considered to be advanced societies. When the Muslims entered the cities of Syria and Persia, and then later Spain, western Europe, India, North Africa, and Egypt, there were already civilizations there that had preceded Islam. These civilizations had given these peoples knowledge, literature, art and industry. These countries also had other features of civilization that were capable of dazzling the eyes of the Muslims who had come from the far corners of the barren desert.

But these early Muslims did not simply stand and let themselves be dazzled by all of these temptations as we today stand and are dazzled by the monuments of modern Western civilization. Today, when a Muslim goes to a foreign country, he is amazed by the industrial and technological development of the West. Then he says to himself: "Man, if only we had something like this." Well, the fact is that we do have a heritage. We do have a great history behind us. When we lived as Muslims, we were able to enter other societies and within a short time we were able to constitute one of the influential factors in ancient civilizations. Islamic societies had thousands of Muslim scientists and learned men in all specialties and fields, both scientific and nonscientific. Even today the world is benefiting from what they did. The West itself admits that there are still many works and bodies of knowledge created by the Muslims that are important sources in many realms of religious knowledge. This in spite of efforts by some to deny the achievements and great efforts of this kind that were accomplished by these learned Muslims.

In this regard, I recall a recent book in which an American intellectual listed a hundred prominent personalities in the world who have had a clear influence on the life of all of humanity. The very first person who was mentioned in this book was our great prophet Muhammad--may God pray for him and may he be safe--and he was considered the first prominent personality who played a great role in human society generally.

[Question] How is it possible for us to create a blending of, and harmony between, our present generation of young Saudis and the generations of Saudis who have come before them?

[Answer] Yes, there are two definite generations. Previously there was a generation and then a coming generation. But now there is a new Saudi generation that has become independent in all of its elements. Consequently there are two societies in Saudi Arabia. There is the old society from whose experience we undoubtedly have much to learn. And we should also not view this older society as representing a stage that has come to an end and that does not deserve our attention. On the contrary, the generation which has preceded us represents one

of the most important stages of history that our country has gone through. This older generation really was a pioneering generation in terms of dealing with our country's initial stage of development. This generation set the real groundwork for the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and it marched forward with the country until the country reached the stage of overall progress that it now has. The new generation of young people should respect everything that the older generations have done for them. They should strive to continue this process, taking into consideration all of the circumstances and factors of change, in a spirit of understanding and a willingness to keep on working hard.

Likewise, the generation of pioneers must learn to comprehend the spirit, demands and circumstances of our modern age, and they must provide strong support to the young generation. They must do so in order that this young generation succeed in finishing the great journey that previous generations began and so that our country may have the status it deserves in all international gatherings and in all realms and domains.

9468

CBO: 4802/373

AL-BA'TH: U.S. USING CYPRUS AS PAWN IN MIDDLE EAST POLICY

Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 20 Mar 81 p 3

[Article: "America's Policy Toward Cyprus Is Part of Its Strategy for the Region"]

[Text] The United States does not view Cyprus as an important supplier of oil or a basic source of minerals, industry, agriculture or even manpower which it can utilize for its aims and purposes. Nevertheless, Cyprus is important. In fact, it is extremely important to the United States for the implementation of its policy in the Arab region.

The leader of the Cypriot Socialist Party summed up this situation by remarking: "America does not consider us on the basis of our natural resources but rather on the basis of our close proximity to the Arab countries."

What is Cyprus?

It is an island in the Eastern Mediterranean which is neither extremely large nor extremely small. It lies 60 miles from the Syrian coast and 40 miles from the Turkish coast, and it is very similar to our coasts in its geological structure and climate. This island has suffered from foreign domination for many long years. As for its present form, it has been a democratic republic since 1960 when it won its independence following a long struggle led by its former leader, the late Archbishop Makarios, a well-known man for his imposing personality. But this form is not completely perfect. It is troubled by foreign involvement symbolized by the two military bases which are under the absolute sovereignty of Great Britain. Moreover, there are very strong indications that the Americans are using Cyprus extensively, as indicated by the existence of several observation posts scattered over various parts of the island, as well as monitoring and relay stations and cultural centers. Added to all this is the presence of 30,000 Turkish soldiers who control 40 percent of the island. This is the situation of Cyprus, whose Greek and Turkish population numbers only 650,000.

Thus, Cyprus indeed suffers from destructive foreign activity on its soil.

The people and political leadership of Cyprus are striving to rid themselves of this destructive activity, which impose on them heavy tolls of nightmarish proportions. With the exception of a small group which is opposed to the interests and aspirations of Cyprus, the Cypriot people believe that the basic source of their misfortune is the United States. The people of Cyprus feel that the policy

and ambitions of the United States in the Arab region enable its well-known allies in NATO to destroy the rights of the Cypriots along with their freedom, independence and homeland. The Cypriots talk about the foreign troops in their country and feel that if it were not for American support, they would not be able to roam at will this way as if the country were their possession. The Cypriots know that their independence is impaired because of the American background behind everything that takes place in Cyprus. The American policy toward Cyprus is based on the following considerations:

First, Cyprus is very important strategically because of its proximity to the Arab region. In practical terms, this means that the British bases on Cyprus can be utilized. It is believed that this is actually being done, and the usage of these bases will be stepped up in emergency situations in order to complete the circle in the rapid deployment forces plan which the United States has prepared and continues to modify. Also within this framework, Cyprus is a site for listening and monitoring systems which can keep tabs on activities in the entire region. In this area, the trust which the Arabs accord to the Cypriot people politically and economically can be exploited.

Second, the United States can use Cyprus as a valuable gambling and equalizing card to maintain Turkey and Greece within its ranks and keep them moving in its direction by convincing each of them that the United States is on its side. The United States could also use Cyprus as a means to bring about change in either Greece or Turkey if the need should arise.

Third, in view of its position, Cyprus forms a link in the chain of American bases. From a geographical standpoint, we observe that in the line made up of Turkey, "Israel," Egypt, Sudan, Somalia, Kenya, Muscat and Oman, and so forth, Cyprus is important in view of its position as a middle link located just a few dozen miles from Arab territory.

For these reasons, Cyprus is struggling for total freedom and the unity and integrity of its land. At the same time, however, it knows that its struggle is a victory for the Arabs, because the departure of foreign forces from Cyprus means the departure of the soldiers who threaten its friends and neighbors.

The Arabs undoubtedly know that the Cypriot people are a friendly people, and not all that takes place on its territory occurs with their approval—or even sometimes with their knowledge.

8591

CSO: 4802/582

BAN AGAINST ACHOUR RUNNING FOR UNION OFFICE EXPLAINED

London 8 DAYS in English 18 Apr 81 p 22

[Text]

PRESIDENT HABIB Bourguiba has reminded me of his instructions prohibiting Habib Achour from running for secretary general of the General Union of Tunisian Workers (UGTT), because he has been sentenced to ten years' hard labour, for political and legal reasons rather than for his union work. Then Prime Minister Mohammed Masmoudi presented the official reasons why the popular long-time leader of the Tunisian workers' federation will not be allowed to stand in the elections to the union's executive.

Only Achour is prohibited from running. Colleagues arrested and sentenced alongside him following the bloody events of 26 January, 1978 — including his assistant Abdelcader Ghannouchi, secretary general of the Sfax regional Union, who was also sentenced to ten years' hard labour —

will be allowed to run. Ghannouchi was recently re-elected to his position on the Sfax regional branch, one of the most important positions outside Tunis.

Ghannouchi is not the only unionist from the UGTT old guard to have been re-elected in recent regional elections, held under the auspices of the National Union Commission — which has been acting as the UGTT executive board for the past few months.

On the surface the union appears to be getting back to normal. Neureddine Hached, the son of Farhat Hached, a prominent union activist assassinated by the French before the country's independence, is now president of the National Union Commission. With a reference to Achour's popularity, Hached recently told reporters: 'We must guard against the UGTT becoming personalised.'

CSO: 4820/312

ROAD TO PEACE VIEWED AS VERY DIFFICULT

Paris LE MONDE in French 7, 8, 9, 10 Apr 81

[Article by Paul Balta: "The Inextricable Saharan Conflict"]

[7 Apr 81 pp 1, 5]

[Excerpts] 1. The Masters of the Desert

Today, Haouza is a symbol for the POLISARIO. The Saharan flag, inspired by that of the Palestinians, now waves over a pile of rubble. Before they left, the FAR (Royal Armed Forces) blew up everything. But we also learned that in the area, the Front has set up a large command post in the underground labyrinths. That is why communiques from the "government of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR)" are often dated from Haouza.

The driver of our Land Rover, nicknamed Mickey because he wears little white gloves, unwittingly showed us a support point when we were on our way to see 13 Moroccan prisoners and weapons taken at Ras-el-Khanfra on 10 February. He hastily retreated but we had already seen antiaircraft guns, cannons and other carefully camouflaged vehicles. Many times between Tindouf and the Atlantic (LE MONDE, 26 February), we noted or felt the presence of the ALPS (Saharan People's Liberation Army) forces.

As soon as they would hear a rumbling in the sky, the soldiers become alert and more vigilant. They fear the planes, especially when out in the open. At the same time, however, Moroccan pilots do not like to venture over the woods and rugged regions at low altitudes. "My Mirage F-1 was shot down on 9 December 1979 as I was attacking a clump of trees from 2,000 feet," Chief Warrant Officer Mah-joub Maataoui tells us. Apprentice pilot Barthaoui experienced the same fate on 29 September 1980 as he tried to recover the pilot of another F-1 at Ras-el-Khanfra. The POLISARIO also claims to have shot down 12 out of the 22 F-3's of the Royal Armed Forces. At any rate, it is holding 11 pilots and others are known to be dead or to have made it back to their base on foot.

Until only recently, the Front has almost always had the initiative in the field, thanks to an offensive strategy adapted to the circumstances. In penetrating the Western Sahara in November 1975, the Moroccan forces brought about an initial

exodus of the population in the north. Another followed during the first half of 1976, when planes bombed and shelled civilians in the south, concentrated at Guelta Zemmour and Oum-Dreiga.

The power of the Front reached a peak with the first battle at Ouarksis in March 1980. On that occasion, the guerrillas seized the dossiers of Colonel Arzaz, commanding officer of the Adi Dras sector, which contained the battle plan, orders for missions and analyses of the situation confirming the difficulties experienced by the FAR. There were many prisoners and the booty was considerable: dozens of French and South African AMX-90 armored vehicles, SK-105 tanks, hundreds of rifles, cannons and vehicles. "You would have to have over 10,000 men to use all the equipment," an official told us once we were back near Tindouf. He added: "We will soon use all the tanks you see."

On the internal level, the work done is also considerable. The Saharan society has been given a strong political structure, even if in the camps some families are experiencing some lassitude and are nostalgic for their nomadic life or native villages. Firmly handled, tribalism has been overcome in the main, although there are aftereffects. Some soldiers have allegedly refused to go out on operations and demanded to be replaced by men from a tribe less heavily hit by losses. Finally, although the Reguibat make up the backbone of the movement, one has the feeling that one is witnessing the birth of a nation when men, women, children and the old people proudly proclaim: "We belong to the Saharan nation."

Recognized by some 40 countries, the SDAR has succeeded in having 26 countries approve its admission to the OAU by a simple majority, while for the first time, only the resolution sponsored by Algeria was adopted by the United Nations in 1980. It recognizes the POLISARIO Front as the representative of the Saharan people and urges Morocco to negotiate with it after evacuating its territory.

And yet, one cannot help wondering whether the rise of the Front over the past 5 years does not risk leveling off for reasons independent of its own activity. In fact, while other liberation movements rallied very large followings because they were fighting Western powers, this time, the divided Third World hesitates to condemn Morocco, one of its own, an old nation of 20 million inhabitants, which has many resources despite serious difficulties. Second, the Saharans, sons of the desert, find considerable military assets there, but in an area with a scanty population, have few reserves. Finally, since the second battle of Ouarksis in April-May 1980, the Moroccan kingdom has shown its pugnacity in the three areas of the armed conflict, information and diplomacy, while seeking to increase its control over the useful part of the Western Sahara by building a "wall" aimed at protecting it from the POLISARIO.

[8 Apr 81 p 5]

[Excerpts] II. The "Wall" of the Useful Triangle

El Aïoun--At the 9 June School, which boards 1,100 students and is located near Tindouf, the POLISARIO's manuals speak about the lost homeland. One of the lessons describes El Aïoun ("the Springs") in a moving fashion. Once there, how can one fail to be struck by the difference between the exiles' memories and actual

conditions? Houses, mosques, markets, schools and a whole mishmash of new construction have changed the face of the old capital of the Western Sahara, where one recognizes practically nothing but the headquarters of the former Jamaa (Assembly), the cathedral, the governor's residence and the Hotel Parador.

Leaving the desert to the POLISARIO, "for the time being," they say, the Moroccan authorities have chosen to hold the strong points in the south: Dakhla, Guelta-Zemmour, Cape Boujdour, and those in the useful triangle: El Aïoun, Smara and Bou-Craa, and to leave their mark on them. Moreover, the administrative structure has been reworked in order to better integrate the 7 out of the 40 Saharan provinces which the kingdom now has. Tarfaya Province has been done away with and attached to that of El Aïoun. Tan-Tan Province has been extended to Abattih and Ras-el-Khanfra, that of Goulmine will henceforth include Mahbas and its region, and Tata Smara, Boujdour and Ouadi-Dahab (Rio-de-Oro), substituted for the Tiris-el-Gharbia of the Mauritania, have been modified or even created.

While the POLISARIO has finally imposed itself as an undeniable political and military reality, the Moroccan foothold in the territory it holds is a fait accompli impossible to ignore. The population of El Aïoun has gone from 27,000 in 1975 to nearly 50,000. This demographic leap can be explained by the arrival of Moroccans from the north and the fairly voluntary regrouping of nomadic families who could provide POLISARIO soldiers with accommodation, information and supplies.

Rabat's Overtures

These families have settled in shantytowns while waiting to be housed in the dwellings now being built. In fact, after treating the Saharans like powerful secessionists, the Moroccan Government has modified its attitude: It is now trying to win them over and if possible, attract refugees from the Tindouf camps. It is therefore trying to beat the POLISARIO Front at its own game but with more material means and by stepping up education, providing training for women, setting up youth centers, and so on.

For the open distrust it showed at the beginning, Rabat has now substituted a policy of openness. "Some 90 percent of the officials are Saharans," the governor told us. This is undoubtedly true, but posts of responsibility in the army, police, administration, cultural centers, schools and socioeducational centers are given to "people from the north," who can easily be picked out by their way of dressing, speaking and living.

The deputies and most governors are also Saharan. "They are traitors who preferred palaces to tents and the king to their people," is the categorical way POLISARIO leaders brand them. "The rebels who betrayed their Moroccan homeland are mercenaries moved by a taste for power," retort our interlocutors. Driss Basri, minister of interior, gets out his records: He concedes that Brahim Ghali, Saharan war minister, was born in Jdira in 1945, but he adds: "Mohamed Lamine, who claims to be prime minister of the so-called SDAR, was born in 1948 in Tan-Tan, where his father still lives.... Minister of Information Ould Salek is none other than Mohamed el Ansary, born in Tarfaya in 1950 and who studied in Rabat.... As for the one they call Omar Hadrani, he is from Bou-Izakar, near Goulmine, and is actually called Mohamed el Admi. Do you want me to continue?"

And yet, the facts are not so simple. "The younger generation is made up of children of the Moroccan Liberation Army soldiers," one Nouakchott official told us. "Those soldiers were volunteers from the Western Sahara and Mauritania who sought refuge in Morocco after the success of the Ecovillon operation in 1957. To give but one example, did you know that El Hadj Khatiri Ould Said Joumani, former president of the Assembly and now a deputy in the Moroccan Parliament, still has his herd of camels here and that his nephew sold part of them before joining the POLISARIO?"

Torn Families

What do the El Aïoun Saharans think of the conflict when there is scarcely a family that does not have a member among the Front's soldiers? The merchants pretend to ignore the wrenching situation, enjoying the economic boom even while deploring "the competition of merchants from the north." In low-income areas, visited the first time with the governor and where policing is heavy, faces of stone greeted me when I returned alone. Silence *'s de rigueur*: "No hablo español." If I spoke Arabic, the people pretended not to understand my dialect or sullenly replied: "We are Moroccans."

At nightfall near a school, a child emerged to slip us a note and disappeared. He had scribbled "Viva el POLISARIO." But in the morning, other children preparing for the Festival of the Throne sang: "Hassan II is our king. Hassan II is the liberator of the Sahara." At the 9 June School, we heard boys and girls chanting for 27 February, the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the SDAR: "We are a nation that builds by fighting. History will be our witness." The rhythms were the same; only the words were different. We would hear the same airs in Nouakchott, where it was explained that "the music to most of these songs was composed by Mauritanian nationalists during the fight against colonialism."

In the face of such a complex situation, the Moroccan leaders have adopted three successive attitudes. In the initial phase (1975-1978), backed by the success of the Green March, Rabat declared: "The POLISARIO does not exist. The matter is closed." Since political and military problems were denied, no strategy was defined. The soldiers were assigned to and dug in at their posts until they would be dislodged. The peace concluded between the Mauritaniens and Saharans (August 1979) led the Moroccans to adopt an offensive tactic: The Ohoud and Zeliaka columns were set up in the following months in order to hunt the POLISARIO. The mistake consisted in using traditional, although mobile, units in a guerrilla war without considering the ratio of forces and the nature of the terrain. They crisscrossed the Sahara without engaging an unreachable enemy that would strike hard, by surprise, in southern Morocco, at Lebouirate and Zag in Ouarkziz.

The third phase began in May 1980, when Gen Ahmed Dlimi, who was named in the meantime as commanding officer of the southern zone, looked the problem in the face and finally worked out a strategy. Tall, husky, with even features, graying hair and a tiny Errol Flynn moustache, timid and cultivated, he quotes passages from the "Memoires" of Saint-Simon whenever one evokes the age-old French-Moroccan relations. He would easily fool someone unaware of his military past, the strictness of his choices and his control of men.

Surrounded by part of his aides: Colonel Bennani, chief of state of the southern zone, Colonel Araia, commanding officer of the Wadi Draa sector, Lieutenant Colonel Ridha, adviser, the others being at the front, General Dlimi explained the advantages of the "wall" which, 600 kilometers long and starting at Zag, should isolate the "useful triangle" where most of the people and the phosphates are found. "Without any contact with the population, the guerrilla will finally die out. We will then be able to make the Sahara secure, facilitate road connections and help the resumption of phosphate mining, since the facilities are safe from sabotage," he said.

The 300 kilometers of fill L... in August 1980 reached Smara on 2 March 1981. Protected by barbed wire and mines, they are already making the POLISARIO's task more difficult. But will the Front not be tempted to move from the orgues de Staline (Katyusha, multiple rocket launcher used by the USSR in World War II) with a range of 22 kilometers to surface-to-surface missiles with a range of 60 to 80 kilometers? "We have let our neighbors know that that would be a casus belli," the general replied.

He admitted that the Moroccan soldier has to be on guard constantly, but believes that the wall's defense -- nearly 20,000 men concentrated in the northern Western Sahara -- will require fewer personnel than that of many scattered garrisons. Furthermore, supplying the troops will be easier and relief, which some have waited for for 4 years, more frequent. But in the long run, does this defensive strategy not risk being depressing for the troops and ruinous for the state?

"Once the wall is finished," he replied, "we shall begin to reconquer the desert, from which we shall drive the POLISARIO. It has already suffered heavy losses and has had to resort to using inexperienced young troops. Yesterday, it was we who needed guides; now it has its turn. In the past, the POLISARIO had the initiative, but we are now imposing the place of confrontation on it." The results that have raised the morale of the Moroccans encourage them to cry victory.

The POLISARIO Front makes an inverse analysis: "Some 250 French military advisers are teaching the Moroccans the living conditions in the Sahara and the characteristics of the Saharan soldier in order to help them fight us better," its secretary general, Mohamed Abdelaziz, told us. "That has not prevented the Moroccan space from being reduced like a hair shirt because we have and know the terrain and our soldiers are motivated by the ideal of the homeland to reconquer. The Maginot Line, the Morice Line, the Bar-Lev Line all yielded. The line of the useful triangle is part of the same strategy. It will not prevent us from freeing Smara and El Aoun." Hindered in the north, the POLISARIO has tried to regain the initiative by attacking Guelta-Zemmour in the south at the end of March.

Because they are situated on different levels, both of the two warring parties can boast of successes and neutralize the other. The question is therefore to ascertain which one will be able to hold out the longest. The answer depends on many factors of which they are not always in control.

[9 Apr 81 p 6]

[Excerpta] III. Dossier Full of Surprises

Along with the conflicts that have periodically shaken the region since the beginning of the century, a political-legal battle inspired by history, geography, tradition, ethnic groups, economic and strategic interests and the power game, pits the parties involved against one another. Since independence, these neighbors have ceaselessly confronted one another in the United Nations, the OAU and the International Court in The Hague.

In listening to the arguments of both sides in the ministries of Rabat, Nouakchott and Algiers, in the tents in Smara, the Bir-Moghrein fortress or out in the open with the POLISARIO Front soldiers, we could not help thinking about that precious advice from Robert Montagne, former professor at the College de France: "In order to understand the Sahara, we shall abandon our prejudices, our way of counting time, of dividing space, of foreseeing the future and of judging men and things." His plea and charge nourish a dossier that is all the more complex because those involved have had to radically mollify their positions depending on the circumstances.

One high Mauritanian official brought an unusual argument to the debate, explaining that at the beginning of 1975, he had made contact with leaders of the POLISARIO Front who then lived in Algiers in a semi-underground fashion. The authorities distrusted them because of the agitation that had been going on for 2 years in southern Algeria. Tracts threatened to burn oil wells and to sabotage tomato plantations in Bechar and Adrar if measures were not taken on behalf of the people. "In supporting the POLISARIO, Boumediene unleashed the bomb and his successor knows that if he unleashes the Saharans, trouble will break out in the south," our interlocutor told us.

Finally, what is one to think of the accusations according to which the POLISARIO is no longer what it was in the beginning? Its adversaries claim that the ALPS has only 10 to 20 percent of the soldiers of the heroic times -- 600 to 800, according to General Dlimi -- and that the rest include 50 percent Mauritaniens and 30 to 40 percent Touaregs and Moors from Niger and Mali. "When one knows how much determination, perseverance, courage and sacrifice are required of our soldiers, who brave heat, thirst and death, it is unworthy to call them mercenaries," Mohamed Abdelaziz told us. "Their entire pay is the legend of history. I would add that they are not ashamed to call on volunteers to defend a just cause. This being the case, I can tell you that we do not have anyone in our ranks foreign to the Saharan people." And yet, this reply is not enough to close the controversy.

The Moroccans reply that the secretary general of the POLISARIO is playing on words because in Arabic, "Saharan" means "an inhabitant of the Sahara." The Mauritaniens philosophically agree: "In adversity, you will never prevent a nomad from going to the aid of his brother." They add that if the Maghrebien leaders are now seeking a solution, it is because they have the feeling, like Ould Daddah once did, of having played with witchcraft and are now discovering that the conflict could have repercussions they never suspected. But every one that has become too deeply

involved is trapped and fears losing everything through a compromise. From Rabat to Algiers, from Algiers to Tindouf and from Tindouf to Nouakchott, the road to peace definitely seems even more difficult to take than those through the desert.

[10 Apr 81 p 5]

[Excerpts] IV. Road to Peace

Algiers—"Ah! You have just come back from the POLISARIO? How are the people? We are at war with them.... Over some sand...."

"No, there is also the matter of the phosphates."

"So what? Our children are worth more than the phosphates!"

"Yes, but there is more than the phosphates, the...."

"There is nothing but desert there. It is not like in our country. Myself, I am from Khemisset. The desert is hard. Our sons tell us about it. They speak of the heat, the interminable waiting and the damnable sandy wind that hurts their eyes. In our family, a large family of cousins, we have lost five children, including two brothers. They were killed there. Do you come here often? You must have seen how much things have gone up in 2 years. Things are very hard now, but one can say nothing."

The Moroccan, whom we met by accident in Rabat, would certainly not have made the remarks in public, any more than the businessmen who tell you privately: "The Sahara is an endless tunnel." Or the opposition leaders who regret the "annexation" of Tiris-el-Gharbia, abandoned by the Mauriticians. Analogous remarks are cited by Algerian and Saharan leaders constantly, pitting them against the official unanimity on the defense at any price of the "recovered Saharan provinces." But the Moroccans have no difficulty either in finding Algerians who attribute their economic difficulties to the support for the POLISARIO and who regret that the conflict hinders Maghrebian cooperation. Algiers' error is to have underestimated Morocco's ability to resist and that of Rabat is to have overestimated Chadli Bendjedid's room to maneuver.

Naturally, the Algerian president has at least three good reasons for trying to get rid of the Saharan burden. More pragmatic and less ideological than his predecessor, he would especially like to build a healthy, prosperous Algeria and believes that the policy would be easier to put through in a harmonious surrounding. Inasmuch as the awakening of the desert civilization is a reality, Algeria is no way wants regional upheavals to force it to reopen the dossier of the return of the Sahara: It intends to preserve the fine heritage it tore away from the French colonizer by extending the war from 1960 to 1962. Finally, Libya is a cumbersome ally which it must nevertheless accommodate because it provides nearly nine-tenths of the aid to the Saharans.

Diametrically Opposed Positions

For 2 years, the Moroccan leaders have sought to persuade themselves that these reasons, along with their own promise to ratify the border lines recognizing the Algerian nature of Tindouf, should incite President Chadli to be more flexible than his predecessor. However, this would be forgetting that the Algerians, collectively proud of their young state which has become one of the leaders of the Third World, wish, consciously or not, to take historic revenge on their neighbor. The latter has not ceased reminding them, tactlessly, that they were not even a nation when it was already a vast empire. Unassailable as soon as they defend principles, even if those principles conceal regional ambitions they deny, the Algerians are doomed to never yield in order to preserve their international credit. Their only way out: a compromise which would essentially safeguard the right of peoples to self-determination.

Backed by the Green March and the Madrid agreement, Morocco, which came out ahead in 1975, has found itself in a poor position because of a series of errors on the military and diplomatic levels. Furthermore, its economy and finances have steadily deteriorated under the combined effects of the war and world inflation. The terrible drought it is suffering can only complicate its task, even if it receives considerable aid from friendly countries such as Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Among other things, the latter pays for weapons which the United States delivers to it directly. And yet, linked by its solemn commitments, supported at least outwardly by nearly all the population and pushed into a position of intransigency by the one-upmanship of parties not without ulterior motives, King Hassan II is also doomed not to yield unless he obtains a compromise that would essentially safeguard the territory won.

It was based on these diametrically opposing positions that the "great maneuvers for peace in the Maghreb took place" in 1980 (LE MONDE, 13 December), maneuvers which the sovereign would have liked to crown at the Islamic summit conference in Taef by a reconciliation with Algeria. Redha Guedira, his oldest adviser, and Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, minister-adviser to the president who had already secretly negotiated during the first half of 1978, therefore met in Geneva in January and returned there in October and November.

In his office in the Algiers heights, the Algerian emissary explains: "The Moroccans were basing all their hopes on a Chadli-Hassan meeting, without any agenda, while we were demanding one in order to avoid a failure that would have been a shock to the entire Maghreb. After some thought, they proposed that we take as a basis for discussion the resolutions adopted by Freetown II in September, particularly those on the ceasefire and the referendum."

Nevertheless, Algeria is asking under what control the vote will be organized, what role will be played by the POLISARIO Front and under what conditions. Not wishing to be criticized for having taken the place of the Saharans who are fighting in the field, it insists that the Moroccans, in keeping with the UN resolution, negotiate with them. In case the two delegations would not like to be at the same table, it proposes that President Chadli shuttle back and forth between the two hotels where they would be. "Morocco did not want to hear about the POLISARIO or

a Saharan state, the idea of which it had nevertheless accepted at the time of the 1978 negotiations," our interlocutor said.

He discarded the argument according to which the king would have a problem giving up the "Saharan provinces" without reversing his judgment and risking his throne. "Cut off from its natural resources, the Saharan nation would be a beggar that would stimulate the greed and stir up the rivalry between the United States and the USSR. By virtue of wanting a Great Morocco too much, one risks losing the lesser one and upsetting the Maghreb. Boumediene and then Chadli have assured the king that they wanted him to stay on the throne. He enjoys considerable moral authority and he alone can make his people accept an agreement with the POLISARIO Front. If realism and economics transcend politics, a solution may be found within the framework of Maghrebian cooperation, with the participation of Tunisia and Mauritania."

According to him, Rabat could obtain substantial guarantees in the area of phosphates and the passage of the Algeria-Spain-France gas pipeline, enabling all Moroccan families to have gas in their homes at advantageous prices, as will soon be the case for the Tunisians thanks to the Algeria-Sicily gas pipeline. Finally, the Algerian-Moroccan accords on working the Gara-Djebilet iron near Tindouf could be renegotiated in terms of the new situation.

Morocco, which in the meantime began to build the wall of the useful triangle, has remained deaf to the chant of the Algerian sirens. Since that time, it has marked up a point by obtaining a vote favorable to its positions in the European Parliament, although that body has no direct control over the Saharan conflict, unlike the United Nations and the OAU. Finally, one may think that the attempted coup d'etat in Nouakchott in mid-March would, if it had succeeded, have strengthened the hand of Moroccan diplomacy, which must at any rate take an official stand on the Preetown II resolutions before the summit conference of the African organization in July.

If Morocco should accept the principle of the referendum -- and it is not impossible -- then the solution would still not be in view. The POLISARIO, for which the Saharan people have already "made their choice by way of arms," would have to submit to such a procedure, as Algeria is advising it to do. Next, it would be necessary to stipulate whether the basis would be the Spanish census of 1974 or whether another criterion would be defined in order to give the Saharans their say. And yet, it is difficult to imagine such arrangements without preliminary contacts between Algiers and Rabat, attended in a second phase by POLISARIO and Mauritania, in order to draw the main lines of the future ratio of economic and political forces in the region.

France Sought-after

It is in fact difficult to ignore Mauritania, whose current government refuses to be the "weak link" in the peace and prefers to have as its neighbor a Saharan state established within the boundaries bequeathed by Spain. However, some Mauritanians suggest that the territory be placed under the tutelage of the United Nations or the OAU or that it receive autonomy within the Maghrebian framework so as to group the populations and consult all of them within a few years. And

yet, what would happen if Morocco, turning Algiers' suggestion around, should propose retaining only the useful triangle but involving the Saharans, even all the Maghrebians, in working the Bou-Craa phosphates? Finally, it is possible that the Moroccan kingdom will maneuver to gain time and consolidate its military positions.

In the meantime, the war goes on. Each of the two camps is betting on the collapse of the other's "internal front," while hoping for miraculous outside aid that would impose a negotiated solution to its benefit. For the time being, the USSR, the main importer of Moroccan phosphates, and the United States, a major buyer of Algerian gas and Libyan oil, have avoided getting directly involved. The Kremlin is aware that Tripoli supplies Soviet weapons to the POLISARIO, but neither Moscow nor East Europe has recognized the SDAR. After long hesitation, the United States sold arms to the king, its main concern being to save the monarchy. However, it is not generally known, because the Americans do not like to talk about it, that they do not want Morocco to gain a world monopoly over phosphates with the Western Sahara.

Now that Spain is out of the quarrel, despite its responsibilities in the crisis, France is highly sought-after because of its Maghrebian connections. Each of the protagonists, including the POLISARIO, is doing its utmost to repeat that "it is the party most familiar with the question," hoping that France will lean its way. Paradoxically enough, for over a year, French diplomacy has stated that "the POLISARIO does not exist," but has finally opted for a cautious neutrality. In this way, it has improved its highly compromised relations with Algiers, without thereby altering its relations with Rabat. But this *juste milieu* is deceptive! When one goes from Algiers to Rabat, from Tripoli to Nouakchott or from Madrid to Paris, one discovers how divided diplomats and military men are as to the way they view the future.

Some, quoting De Gaulle: "Algeria has its revolution behind it; Morocco has its ahead of it," consider that the some 200 French military advisers in Morocco "are beginning all over again, by proxy, the same mistakes it made in Indochina and Algeria, letting people believe that with the wall of the useful triangle, the end of the tunnel has been reached." In their opinion, "Algeria is one of the Third World countries that functions the best." The others believe, on the contrary, that one should bet on Morocco, which is more solid than it appears, while Algeria, which has "failed in agriculture and industrialization, will be doomed to vegetate, once its oil is exhausted." Finally, others recall that France was the first to dream of a vast Saharan empire at the beginning of the century and advise, in making future choices, considering the awakening of the nomadic civilization. In the face of such divergent analyses, the government's position does not appear to be perfectly clear.

An outwardly minor conflict compared with others, the Saharan dispute will nevertheless be exemplary for Africa because the prevailing solution will become part of jurisprudence, whether it upholds or rejects the principle, accepted by the OAU, of the intangibility of the borders inherited from colonial times. Furthermore, it will modify the ratio of forces in the Maghreb for a long time to come. It is the size of the stakes that makes the road to peace so difficult.

ROLE OF POLISARIO WOMEN REVIEWED

London 8 DAYS in English 18 Apr 81 p 53

[Text]

The Western Saharan war has resulted in Sahrawi women taking on a new role in communal life. HOWARD SCHISSEL reports.

SINCE THE OUTBREAK of the war in the Western Sahara, the women of the Polisario have been thrust into a political and administrative role. It has meant a radical change in their status in Sahrawi society, at least for the present.

Fatimatou Alali, secretary general of the National Union of Sahrawi Women (UNFS) told 8 Days: 'Now we are literate and politically conscious. Girls as well as boys attend school and participate fully in everyday life.' But the fact that she is the sole woman member of the Polisario's political bureau indicates that women still have a long way to go to achieve equality with Sahrawi men.

'Initially there was some dispute among the men regarding the radical changes in the status of women since 1975. However, they soon came to realise that the struggle for independence requires the mobilisation of all the forces of the Sahrawi people. The

party has made significant progress in changing mentalities on this score, and now we can fully participate without resistance from the men,' Alali added.

Sahrawi women were somewhat better off than women in other traditional nomadic societies in that they did not have to wear veils or live in polygamous family arrangements. They played an active and visible role in organising daily life in the small compact clans which roamed in search of fresh pasture and water.

Over the past few years, Sahrawi women have become the Polisario's main

organisers, a role necessitated by the fact that the men are engaged in guerrilla activities. The administrative units, or diara, are subdivided into smaller units whereby the women organise the community's activities.

Kaltoun Salem, head of UNFS's external relations committee, claims: 'Today we are considered the equals of men. We are respected because we play a vital role in remoulding Sahrawi society under the difficult conditions of exile. The majority of the men are away on the battlefield, so the women have become the mainstay of life in

the camps, politically and economically.'

One Sahrawi woman commented: 'It is perhaps better to compare our present condition with that of women in Mauritania rather than with those in Morocco or Algeria. In Mauritania, women have hardly emerged from rigid traditional patterns of life in spite of rapid urbanisation, while we have been forging a new identity for ourselves as we build the foundations of our nation.'

Whether Sahrawi women will be able to preserve and increase their gain once the war is over remains to be seen. In Algeria, women also played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle between 1954 and 1962, when called upon to do so, but since then their traditional life style has been reimposed upon them, contrary to their expectations.

However, Alali declares: 'We have engaged all our energies and force in the difficult liberation struggle, to guarantee our collective liberty. I can assure you that when peace finally arrives women will benefit as much as men — Sahrawi women have a new consciousness and won't let the clock be turned back.'

FRENCH CORRESPONDENT SAYS MOROCCANS CONTROL GUELTA ZEMMOUR

Paris LE CONTINENT in French 8 Apr 81 p 3

[Article by AFP Special Correspondent]

[Text] The controversy continues regarding Guelta Zemmour's place in the Western Sahara. The POLISARIO Front had maintained that it took control of it 25 March at the end of a fierce battle. The Moroccan army had denied this report, clearly indicating that it had completely overpowered the Saharan forces. Moroccan headquarters had reported more than 300 deaths in the aggressor's ranks but the Moroccan Press had mentioned 2,000 deaths. AFP's [French Press Agency] special correspondent returned with a small group of journalists from the Guelta Zemmour area on 4 April. We are publishing here below some excerpts from their report.

The entrance to the southern half of Western Sahara, the solid Guelta Zemmour mass, is always controlled by Moroccan troops entrenched there. Commander Abdelkhalek Likaa, the garrison leader, gave us his account of recent events. Attacked on 24 March at dawn by an army which, at the very thick of the 4-day battle, in his opinion, numbered 3,000 men and several armoured AML, his troops held on. According to Commander Likaa, some specialized POLISARIO squads scoured the battlefield every night to retrieve the dead, arms, and even wrecked vehicles. A number, however, which were entirely unsalvageable or lying in mined fields, were left there. In this manner, an overturned, burned Land Rover, under which still lay the driver's charred body, testified to the violence of the fights led by the Polisario to seize, at any cost, the path through which the road coming from Mauritania passes.

According to Col Ahmed Ghoujdami, commander of the 6th regiment of motorized infantry, come to the rescue of the garrison on the second day, "there is no doubt whatsoever but that the POLISARIO columns came from the Mauritanian district of Bir Moghrein. Moreover, we are only a few kilometers from the frontier line."

For his part, Commander Likaa states that the Mauritanian guard epaulets, with the star and fish, have been found on the battlefield as well as flour sacks from Nouadhibou.

Other wreckage of the Land Rover is lying here and there, in the minefields or all along the road. They have been "cannibalized" by the 6th RIM men who have salvaged all the usable parts for their own vehicles...."

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